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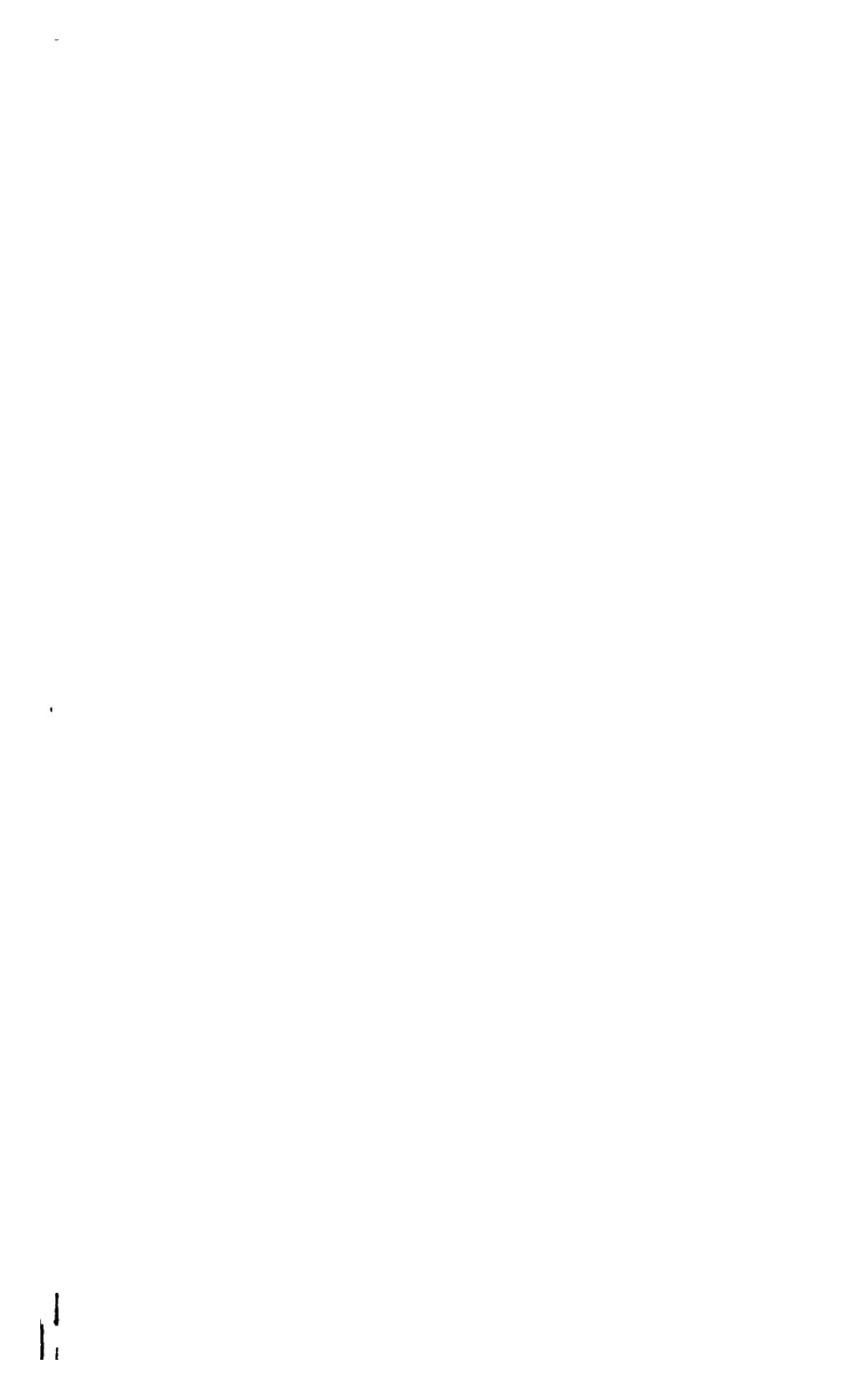
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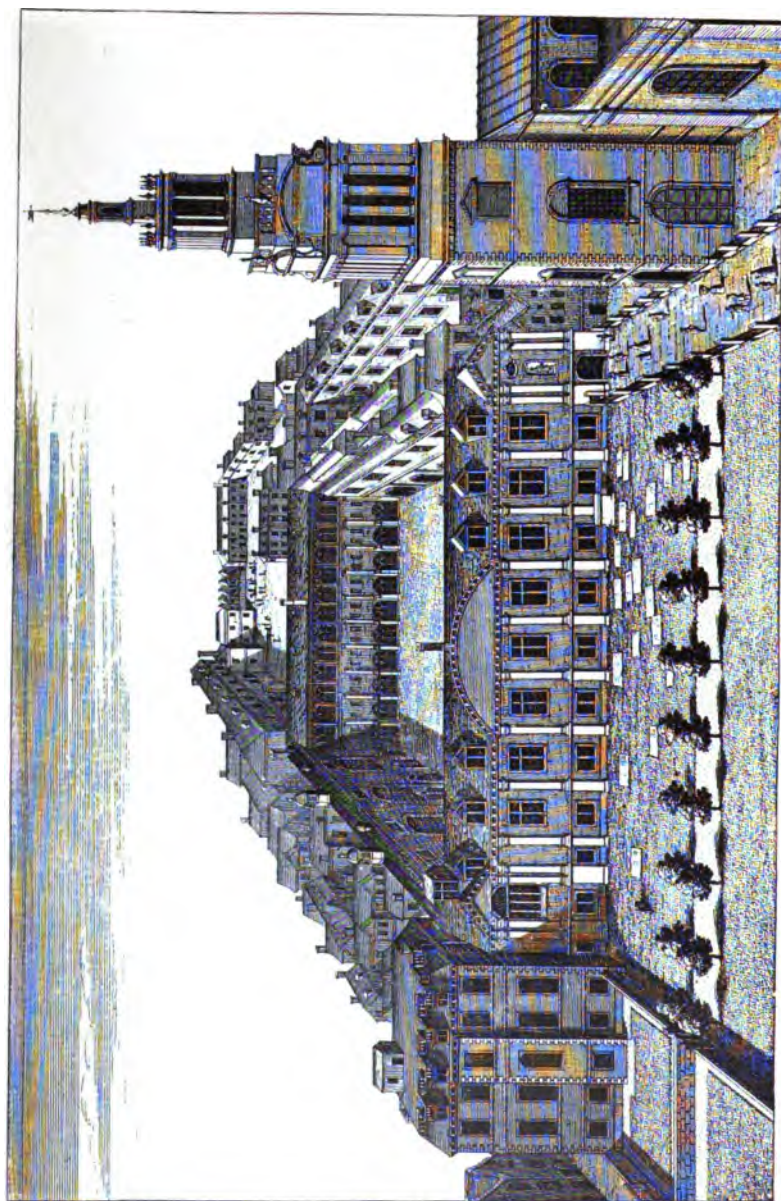


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ANNALS OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL



VIEW OF THE BUILDINGS ABOUT 1720

ANNALS OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL

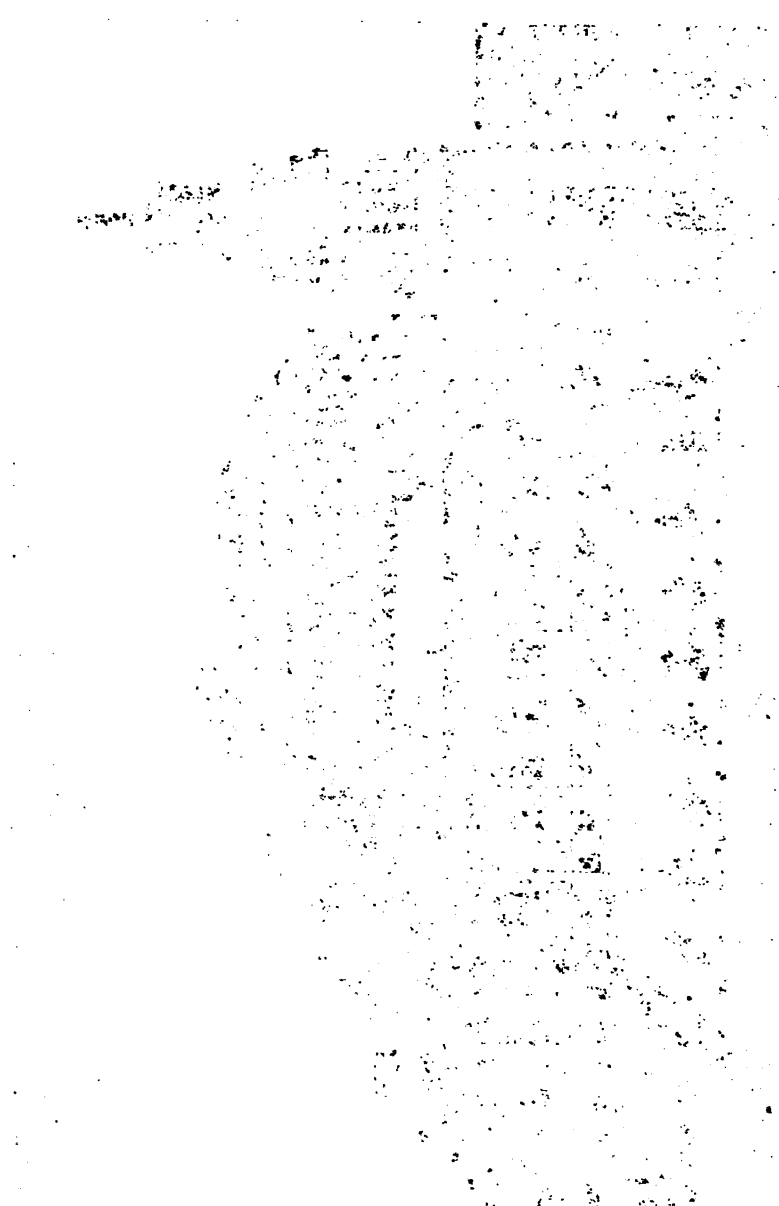
E. H. PFARCE, M.A.

OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND RECTOR OF
ST. MARTIN'S, VINLAND, N.Y.
FORMERLY "MODERATOR" AND NOW ASSISTANT MASTER, AT CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.

"Christ's Hospital" and its "Fountain of Life"
(Bound under a portrait in the Court Room)

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ANNALS OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL

BY
E. H. PEARCE, M.A.
VICAR OF CHRIST CHURCH AND RECTOR OF
S. LEONARD FOSTER, E.C.
FORMERLY "GRECIAN" AND ASSISTANT MASTER AT CHRIST'S HOSPITAL

"Christes Hospitall erected was, a passinge dede of pittie"
(Lines under a portrait in the Court Room)

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TO
MY FATHER



PREFACE

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL has long enjoyed the happiness which is stated to consist in having "no history." Men like Wilson and Trollope have published accounts of the school, which may or may not have been accurate in so far as they deal with matters which came under the direct observation of the writers, but which were not "history" in the sense of investigation. The only possible way to get at the facts is to go through the voluminous and carefully preserved minutes of the Courts and Committees, whose benevolent work has never ceased since the foundation. The kindness of the Treasurer and the Chief Clerk has permitted me to examine this store of historical material, and, wherever it was possible, I have allowed the worthy citizens to give an account of their stewardship in their own words and their own spelling of them.

But this perpetual government by Courts and Committees has made it impossible to divide the record into periods. The year 1891 is indeed the only landmark in the history of the Hospital. It has therefore seemed best to proceed on the plan here adopted of arranging the material under subject-headings rather than in fictitious eras.

It is needless to add that I am indebted to many friends. Besides the Counting House authorities already referred to, I have had the constant assistance of Mr. William Lemprière,

whose knowledge and research have forged many a weapon for those legal contests which have been forced on a peaceful and once prosperous institution. It has been thought best that the illustrations should show the buildings in their present and alas! their final state; and here I must express my indebtedness, among others, to my friend and former colleague, the Rev. D. F. Heywood, and to Mr. Charles E. Browne, the Science Master. My brother, the Rev. E. Courtenay Pearce, has kindly revised the proofs, and Mr. Herbert Welch has compiled an ample index.

But, where debts are in question, it is impossible to close this record without a sense of its inadequacy as an expression of my lasting obligations to my dear "nursing mother." Happily she needs no memorial. Her children rise up and call her blessed.

E. H. P.

CHRIST CHURCH VICARAGE

October, 1901

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ANNALS OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL

CHAPTER I.

THE GREY FRIARS

"Laudate et benedicite mio signore et regratiate ;
Et servite a lui cum grande humilitate."

Hymn of St. Francis.

NO account of the rise and progress of Christ's Hospital can be artistically or even historically complete which begins with its actual date of foundation. Other men had lived upon its present site and had up to their lights carried out the same noble labours. Christ's Hospital entered into their habitation and gave itself wholly to that work of nurture and education which had been but a part of the daily routine of the Franciscans. To see them steadily and whole, we pass back into the twelfth century, into the heyday of mediæval monasticism. Its *annus mirabilis* is 1181, the year of the birth at Assisi of a boy who was christened "Giovanni," and who grew up into the ordinary mischievous and extravagant ways of an unchecked son of comparatively wealthy parents. But just over the threshold of the thirteenth century serious illness overtook him and made him thoughtful. Thought turned into action, and the action was so effective that Francis drew many round him, who were determined, first of all, to cultivate individuality of life ; further, to fashion their life by what they read of the life of

2 ANNALS OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL

Jesus ; and, in pursuance of that, to give up all social ties. These, roughly, were the principles laid down in the *Vita Fratrum*, a manual whose directions received the approval of Innocent III. in A.D. 1210. Popes, even the few who stand upon the high level of Innocent III., have seldom confirmed anything that has not already received the unmistakable hall-mark of public approbation. Francis and his followers had caught that approbation beyond all doubt.

The nature of our present investigation enables us to put our finger upon the reason of the welcome extended to the Friars Minors. It lay in the attention they paid to the towns. Monasteries had looked after the country districts, but the vigorous and growing commercial communities had, in regard to their religion, been obliged to shift for themselves. Thus, if the Franciscan was an interloper, at least he found no one else in the field. But the Franciscan was also determined to make a protest against the inordinate wealth and luxury of the clergy. His life was to be fashioned according to the circumstances of those among whom he was to preach the Gospel ; and though our first insight into these commercial centres reveals a certain municipal development, there is little trace of architectural skill and none of sanitation. The mechanics lived mostly on undrained or marshy land by a river. The Franciscan therefore must be glad, said his leader, to settle down in such places. The mechanics were content with wattle huts and mud hovels. Why should their missionaries desire anything better ? These provisions will help the reader to follow the principle of the first movements of the nine brethren of this already famous order, who reached Dover in the year 1224, nine years after Pope Honorius had confirmed the Rule of St. Francis. Of the nine, four were "clerici" and five "laici," and whereas the latter were all foreign and apparently Italian, of the Clerics only Brother Agnellus of Pisa, the Provincial, who was afterwards buried in the Abbey Choir, belonged to Italy, while the other three were English. Their names are worth recording—Richard de Indewurde, Richard of Devon, and William de Esseby—as showing how attractive the son of Assisi was to

men of a northern clime. Of these nine, four pushed on to London, and received their first lodging in the house of their great rivals, the Dominicans, the Brothers Preachers, with whom they spent a fortnight. Then, by the kind offices of some clerical friends, they hired the dwelling of Mr. Sheriff John Travers "in vico Cornhulle," where they built some cells, but not a chapel, and remained till the following summer.

Clearly their work began to tell, and the usual overcrowding of their "shelter" was the result. The place where they dwelt was too strait for them, and too salubrious. They had no right to be upon the pleasant eminence of Cornhill; the air was not bad enough nor pestilential enough. If he is the true benefactor who gives us just what we most want, then the Franciscan found such a one at this moment. For Mr. John Iwyn, or Ewen, citizen and mercer, had a property in Stynkyng Lane and in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles (the very names must have made the Franciscan mouth water with their possibilities of sickness and smells), and he was ready to make this over to the Order as their future dwelling. The deed of conveyance is to be read at the end of six centuries and a half, and may be found in *Leland's Collectanea*. Iwyn there describes that the gift was made "for the health of [his] soul, in pure and perpetual alms," in order "to entertain the poor Fryers-Minors as long as they will stay there." It is due to this cheerful giver that Christ's Hospital stands where it is to-day.

Two things will readily suggest themselves to any who look into the matter: first, that the Franciscan must have commended his cause to the people by the work that he did among them, for Iwyn not only handed over his land, but shortly after himself also, and he died a pious brother of the order; secondly, that the civic authorities recognised the mission and accorded it their sympathy. There is no reason to doubt the statement of the Chronicler of the Grey Friars that it was the *devotio civium* which made this change of abode possible, for the deed is witnessed by the Mayor, the Sheriffs, the Alderman of the Ward and other citizens. Iwyn's example was soon followed. We have the names

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of the various citizens who gave more land or built choir and nave, chapter-house, dormitories, refectory, infirmary, library. They were mayors and other forgotten City magnates. All the essentials of a monastery were there within five years. The Order had no great traditions to attract benefactions; it had only the testimony of those who watched the brothers at work in Stynkyng Lane and the Shambles, and by the banks of that open sewer, the Town Ditch.

Alas! it is of the essence of such success that it falls by its own weight. A very few years passed before the followers of Francis, who stripped himself of his wealth, became the recipients of countless benefactions. Whereas their founder meant them to keep close to the hearts and needs of the lower and middle classes, they became the pets of Queens and countesses. Within a century of the Confirmation of the Rule, Margaret, second wife of Edward I., gave a sum of money to build a yet larger chapel to accommodate the fashionable crowds who flocked to their services. The Countess of Pembroke built the nave, the Earl and Countess of Gloucester made large contributions towards the work, including, as Stow tells us, "many rich jewels and ornaments to be used in the same." The very first rumour of such riches must have made poor St. Francis turn in his grave. Queen Isabel, wife of Edward II., whom Gray in *The Bard* called "She-wolf of France, with unrelenting fangs," Queen Philippa, wife of Edward III., the Earl of Richmond and many others followed the same example of munificence, and it is no wonder that in Stow's time the Church had grown into one of the grandest in the land. It measured then three hundred feet in length, eighty-nine feet in breadth, and sixty-four in height. If anyone wants a practical idea of the comparative size of it, let him stand under the tower of the Christ Church of to-day, and think that the former church, which was of the same breadth as its successor, extended twice as far to the westward of him as the present one does to the east. The only definite information about the details of this great fabric is contained in a survey made in 1617, a copy of which is among the archives of St. Bar-

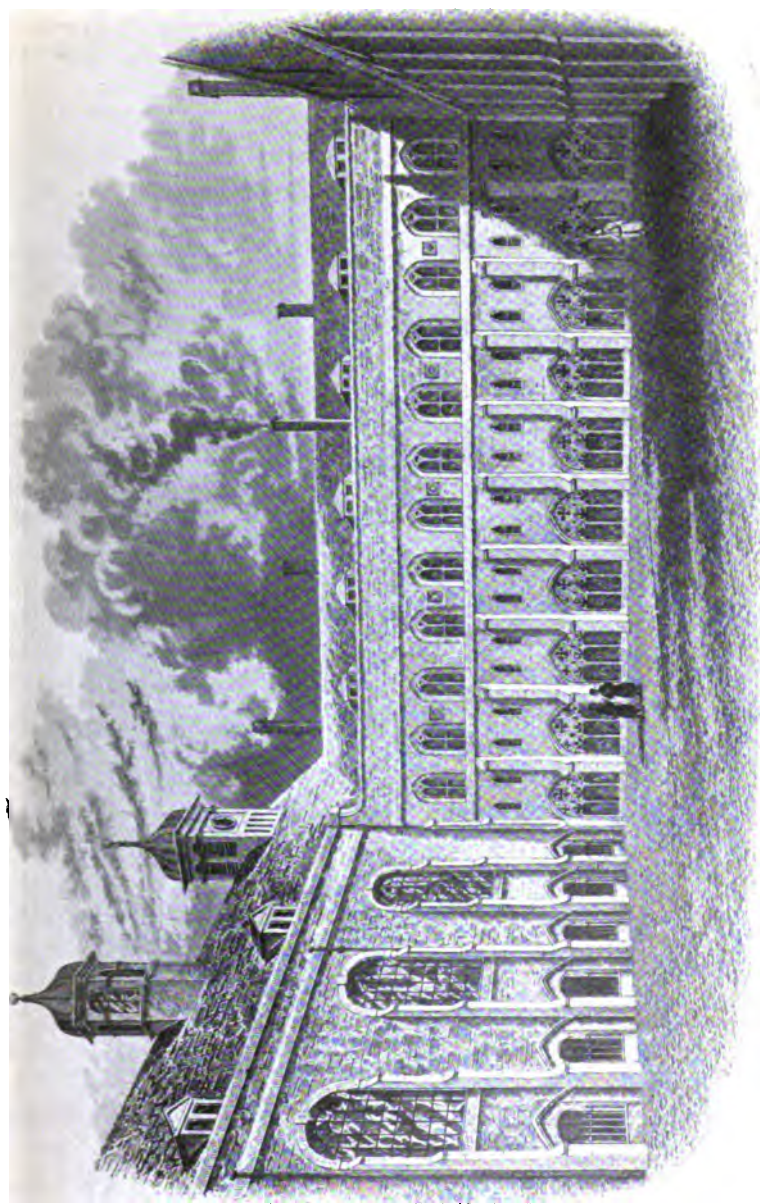
tholomew's Hospital, which owns the great tithes of the parish and the patronage of the benefice of Christ Church. The building, it appears, was an absolute rectangle. There was no projecting of chapels or of transepts. The nave and the choir had each seven bays, and these with the transept gave it fifteen windows on each side; the west window was the gift of Edward III. The west end of the choir had its screen, leaving the transept a self-contained space between choir and nave, called the "*Ambulatorium inter chorum et altaria*"; so that the Abbey came to be looked upon as two churches, upper and lower, which the unceremonious habits of Tudor times effectually separated by turning the transept into a public way, now known as Christ Church Passage. There were at least eleven altars at the east end of the nave and in the aisles, the chapel of St. Francis being the second on the south aisle, just where the parish vestry now stands. In the choir two bays were occupied with the friars' stalls, leaving four bays clear, and in the latter space, now represented by the centre aisle, stood the tombs of Queen Margaret, Queen Isabel, and Joan of the Tower, Queen of Scotland. These brief details serve to show that the Great Fire and Sir Christopher Wren between them have more to answer for here than in most places; but of this, more later on.

But the change from the mud-built sanctuary, which Francis ordered, to this temple which was one-and-twenty years in building, was not more violent than that which is implied in the erection of a library by the immortal, if somewhat fabulous, Dick Whittington in 1429. Francis was not a student; he even objected to students as a class. The brethren, he constantly insisted, wanted no book but a breviary, and even this they could dispense with as long as they had *him*. "*Ego brevium.*" He himself was their breviary. Nevertheless, the thirst for knowledge soon laid hold of his successors, and the mere fact that Oxford and Cambridge were among their first settlements helped to guide their steps in the ways of scientific investigation. Roger Bacon might complain that he was not allowed to use manuscripts enough; but, if

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Francis had been there, Bacon would never have been allowed to know enough to wish for more. Anyhow, the Franciscans of the centuries that followed were men of learning, and Whittington's library was no doubt accepted with gratitude. It stood on the site of the present Middle or Grecians' Cloister, up to about the year 1832, when the beautiful, if dilapidated, building, which escaped the Fire, fell into the hands of restorer and improver. One would like to think that both Coleridge and Lamb had the benefit of it; but by their day it had been turned into a dormitory. Still it may be worth while to record Stow's description of it as being "all seeled with Wainscot, having twentie eight desks, and eight double setles of Wainscot." Whittington "bare foure hundred pound" of the cost of the books to fill it, and Doctor Thomas Winchelsey the rest." Well may Mr. Trollope, the naive historian of Christ's Hospital, remark that "it seems that some relaxation had taken place in the original rule of St. Francis, mitigating its extreme severity."

We need not dwell further on the history of the House of the Grey Friars; indeed we have no material to work with in constructing their subsequent history. Their Chronicler looks out upon the world; he has little to say of what happened within his own walls. Provincial chapters of "freeres" minors were held there, he tells us, and the Mayor and the Corporation paid an annual state visit to the House on St. Francis' Day from 1508 onwards, as they have done to the present House on St. Matthew's Day since 1553. But the time came when the eye of the Grey Friars' Chronicler was turned suddenly on the fortunes of his own House, and the shock is so great that something goes amiss with his pen or his presence of mind. His entry for the sixteenth year of Henry VIII., A.D. 1524, is as follows: "Thys yere the King and the cardinalle Wolsey the ixth day of Marche *intendyd to a come and to see the Grayfreeres, but the ware lett tylle . . .*" The italicised words are deleted in the original, and what follows is apparently an explanation of the mistake. "Also that day that the Kynge as he came owte of hys



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chamber to come to the Gray Freeres, tydyng was browte hym that the Frenche Kynge was tane by the duke of Burgone." A bonfire at "Powlles churche dore," and finally, a procession and Te Deum in the cathedral "on Sent Mathu daye," seem to imply that public attention was diverted from plundering the Friars to triumphing over the French. But only for a time. Wolsey had settled the policy of plunder in his own mind, and he was not to be easily put off. Indeed, the very capture of Francis compelled him to provide somehow the sinews for a war of which he disapproved.* True, he often diverted the funds of conventual houses to better uses, but his present need was money, and what method of raising it was so simple as a "visit" to the Grey Friars? "Thys yere," says our Chronicler in 1525, "beganne the cardinalle Wolsey to enter his visitacioun," and "on Absolve day doctor Allyn beganne in the Gray Freeres at afternone." Clement VII. had given a bull for the purpose, and the Franciscans and others appealed in vain against the exercise of Wolsey's legatine powers.† Loud complaints also were heard of the harshness and unscrupulousness of this same Dr. Allen, who by the exercise of these qualities came to a violent end as Archbishop of Dublin.‡ But whether Wolsey had power to act or not, and whether his myrmidons were brutes or angels, mattered little. A precedent had been set, which Henry was not slow to follow up, and ten years later he issued an instrument under the great seal authorising Crumwell and those appointed by him "to visit . . . all and singular . . . monasteries, both of men and women, . . . to sequestrate the revenues of the church or place, and keep them in safe ward." It was small consolation to great Houses like ours that the lesser were visited first; their turn was bound to come. The Franciscans for some reason or other survived longer than most, but the end came in November, 1538. There is no document in all history more pathetic or pitiful than their deed of surrender. Trollope

* cf. CREIGHTON'S *Wolsey*, p. 110.

† GASQUET, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. i. p. 86.

‡ BREWER, *Henry VIII.*, vol. ii. p. 270.

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gives it at length (on p. 21) without stating his authority, and Mr. J. A. Kingdon (*Poynts and Grafton*, ed. 1895, p. 75) suggests reasonable doubts of its genuineness; but a few sentences will show how they said what they were told to say, and tried in their humiliation to believe it true. "We, the Warden, and Freers, of the howse of Saynt Francis in London, . . . doo profoundly consider that the perfeccion of Christian liuying dothe not conciste in dome ceremonies, weryng of a grey coote, disgeasing our selffe aftyr straunge fassions." "No," the poor creatures proceed, "the very tru waye to please GOD, and to liue a tru Christian man" is something quite different, and it consists in large measure in conforming themselves to the wayward will of their "supreme hed vndre GOD, in erthe, the King's Majestie." Therefore "wythe like mutuall assent and consent" they resign into the hands of his "mooste noble grace" all the "lands, tenements, gardens, medowes, waters, pondyards, fedyngs, pastures, comens, rentes, reversions," and only beg that they may be appointed to such livings as "other secular Priestes comenly be preferryd vnto." The document is signed by Thomas Chapman, D.D., and twenty brethren, "whose signatures," says Trollope with the scorn of a "C. H." caligraphist, "are illegible," though Mr. Kingdon has read them without difficulty.

Thus the monastery, begun by a Queen in 1306, and the minster that sheltered the remains alike of the "she wolf of France" and countless lesser folk, were turned by a King from pious uses of one sort, and there was an interval before they could be directed to equally pious uses of another. There was no more "Gray Freeres," though the name haunted the House for centuries; but the chronicler goes on as before, and tells us that in A.D. 1544, after it had presumably lain empty for six years, "before Crystmas was moche wyne tane of France with their chyppes, and layed in the churche sumtyme the Gray Freeres, alle the churche fulle in every place of it." Is he a monk of the popular sort, this Chronicler, and does he see a natural connection between Christmas and this cargo; or is he a prohibitionist before his time, and does he groan over the sacrilege? On the other

hand, Stow implies that the church had been robbed of all its goods in 1538, and used as a store all along.* Neither of them mentions the fact that Richard Grafton set up a printing press in the church, in addition to the one worked by him in a portion of what "Blues" know as the "Hall-Play." But the Chronicler and Stow are at one in stating that on the 3rd of January, 1547, the church was reopened, and "masse sayd at the auteres with dyvers presttes, and it was namyd Crystys churche of the fundacion of Kynge Henry the viij." Our story of Christ's Hospital would not be complete without this glance at those who went before us. "Others have laboured, and ye are entered into their labours."

* *Survey*, ed. 1603, p. 320.

CHAPTER II.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE SCHOOL

"We praise Thee for our Founders and Benefactors."

BISHOP COMPTON'S C.H. PRAYERS.

WE are thus brought to a point at which we may suggest that in regard to Christ's Hospital some injustice has been done to the work of Henry VIII. A modern schoolboy is said to have defined him as "a great widower," and schoolboys of a larger growth are apt to associate him with the divorce of queens or the dissolution of convents or the disestablishment of Roman Catholicism. The candid investigator comes from his researches with a settled conviction that Henry's rather bulky effigy ought at this moment to be looking down from the niche over the little lodge in Christ Church Passage upon every passer in and out of the famous buildings.

And justice to the father involves no shadow of discredit to the son. Edward's action in the matter is as clear as his piety was strong and his body feeble. Whether his ministers moulded his young will, or his will the ministers, is as much a matter of surmise and guesswork as it is in the case of a sovereign of to-day. We can only deal with the facts as we find them.

And first, the cause. The monasteries, where they were not absolutely pulled down, had ceased to act as shelters for the submerged tenth of the populace, or whatever the particular fraction was in the middle of the sixteenth century. Trollope* records a calculation that the religious houses, "with their various appendages . . . occupied, within the city

* *Christ's Hospital*, p. 25.

FOUNDATION OF THE SCHOOL 11

of London, nearly two-thirds of the entire area ; and about one fifth of the entire population is supposed to have been cloistered within their walls."

Whatever was at that time the proportion of pauperdom to the rest of the population, there is no question that the Dissolution was followed by a great outbreak of poverty, for which there was no present remedy. Latimer had foreseen it, and suggested that in each county some conventual houses should be left for educational and eleemosynary purposes ; and it is a pleasure to remember that he and Ridley, who were not divided in death, were at one also in the work which led up to the foundation of the Royal Hospitals.

Another famous name must not be omitted in this connection. Among the letters in the Cotton Library is one from Sir Richard Gresham, whose son enriched the City with benefactions that are still beneficent. The old man writes in 1538 to Henry, his "most repuyasant, and noble Prince," his "most dradd, beloved, and naturall Sovereigne Lorde." His duty obliges him to approach the King's Majesty, for he is his "Lieuetenant and Mayer" of the City of London, and somebody must come to the "ayde and comfort of the poor, syke, blynde, aged, and impotent persons beyng not able to help themselfs, nor havynge no place certen where they may be refreshed or lodged at, tyll they be holpen and cured of their diseases and sicknes." For this he is not slow to suggest a remedy. "So it is, most gracious Lorde, that here and withyn the Cytie of London be iii. Hospitalls, or Spytalls, commonly called Seynt George's Spytall, Seynt Barthilmewes Spytall, and Seynt Thomas Spytall, and the New Abbey of Tower Hill, founded of good devotion by auncient Fathers, and endowed with great possessions and rentes, only for the releeffe, comfort, and helping of the poore and impotent people not beyng able to help themselves, and not to the maintenance of chanons, priests, and monks to live in pleasure." Let these foundations, Gresham suggested, be used for their original purpose. Let the King give orders that the Mayor of the City of London "and his brethren the Aldermen for the tyme beyng, shall and

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may from henceforth, have the order, disposicion, rule, and governaunce, both of all the lands, tenements, and renewes apperteyning and belongyn to the said hospitalls, governours of theym, and of the ministers which be, or shall be, withyn them." *

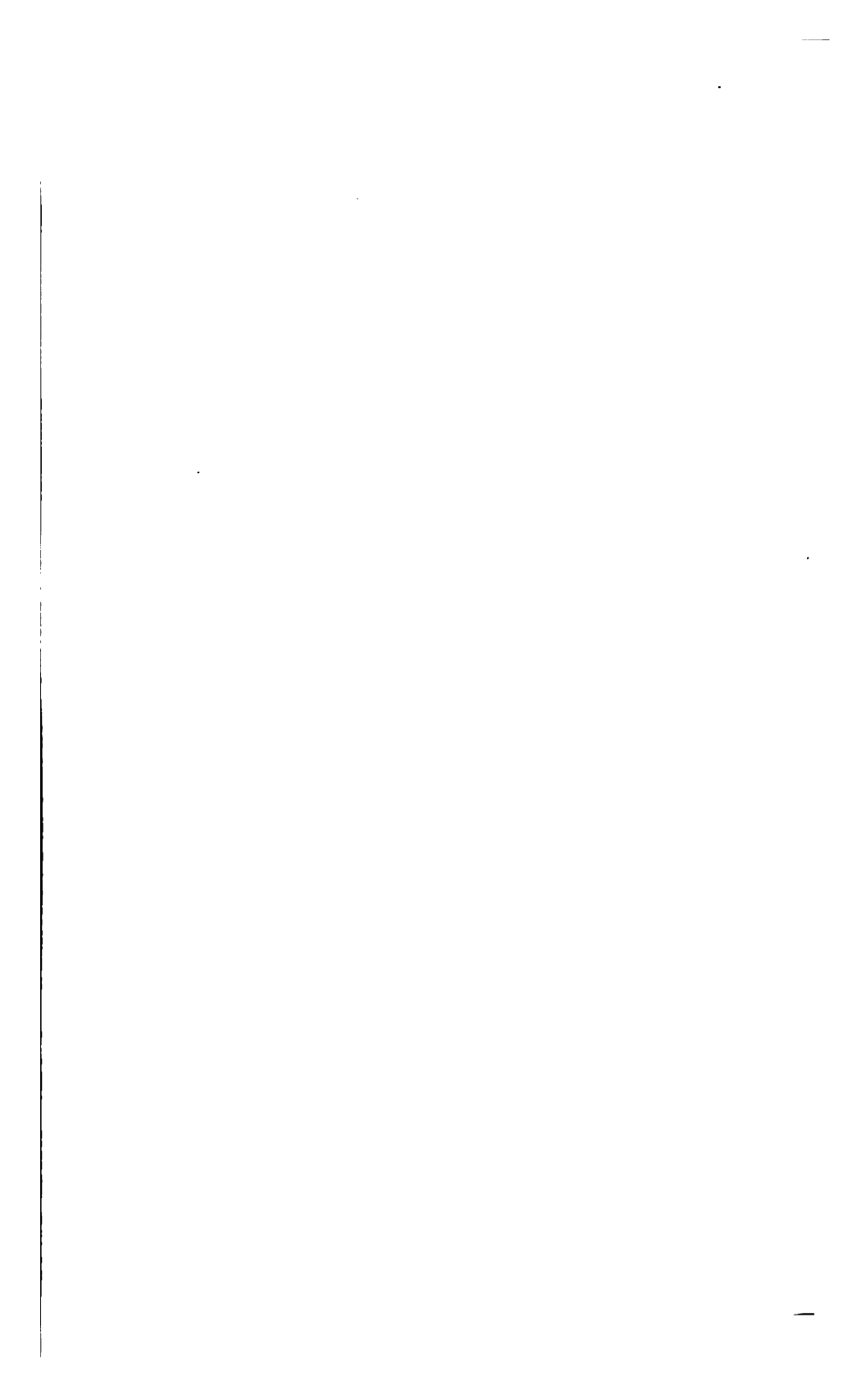
Thus the first Gresham sketched the project which was afterwards to take so definite a shape. The matter could not possibly be settled all in a moment. We need be at no pains to invent reasons, as Trollope does,† for the delay; nor was Henry, as far as we know him, the man to be moved by "a superstitious dread of his approaching end," of which he can scarcely have received very definite information. He had made up his mind that the foundation of the Royal Hospitals was an economic necessity. The indenture and the letters patent were made out in due course. Both bear the date of December 27th, 1546, "in the xxxviiith yeare of the raigne." The indenture in its preamble sets forth the initial reason of the foundation, as already explained. It is the result of Henry's "consideringe the myserable estate of the poore aged sick sore and ympotente people as well men as women lyinge and goinge about begginge in the common streates of the saide Cittye of London and the suburbes of the same"—not only to their own "greate paine and sorrow," for they were poor and must stand their chance, but "to the greate infeccion hurte and noyance of his Grace's lovinge subjectes which of necessitie muste dailie goe and passe by."

Five-and-thirty years later John Howes' *Contemporaneous Account* gives us exactly the same factor in the great result. "Thirdly," he says, "in the Latter tyme of that moste famous and worthie prynce King Henry the eighte after y^e Wynning of Bullaigne & ending of the King's warres yt appeareth that there were greate numbers of poore lame ydell & maysterles men dispersed into dyvers parts of this Realme, but chiefly aboute this Cittie of London."‡ Clearly, then, there was a cause. The in-

* Cotton Library, Cleop. E. 4, p. 222; STRYPE, *Eccles. Mem.*, vol. i. p. 423.

† p. 28.

‡ cf. MALCOLM'S *Londinium*, vol. ii. p. 554.





THE CHURCH-YARD OF CHRIST CHURCH

denture came none too soon. What did it promise to give? From its wilderness of legal phraseology we can extract the following. It granted to the City the Church and site of the house "of the late Gray Freyrs," the Fraternity, the Library, the Dotor, and the Chapter House, "all the land and soile called the greate Cloyster and the littell Cloyster," various buildings, some in the hands of specified occupiers, some already "voyde"; also "the late Hospitall of St. Bartholomewe in West Smythfield nigh London," the Parish Churches of St. Nicholas and St. Ewen, and as much of the Parish of St. Sepulchre as lay within "the precincte and scite" of the Grey Friars. The King reserved to himself and his successors the revenues of certain houses and lands belonging to St. Bartholomew's, but assigned to the Corporation of London the tithes, offerings, and other "spirituall profittes" of the Churches of St. Nicholas and St. Ewen and of the Grey Friars, while the Church of the latter was to serve for these united parishes under the name of Christ Church, which it retained and handed on to its successor, as rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. Provision was further made that it should always have "one preist sufficient learned to declare preach and teach the worde of GOD trulie and sincerely to the comon people which shall be called Vicar thear," and also "one other preist which shall be called the Visitor of Newgat." The Vicar of Christ Church was to receive his stipend from the Corporation, "one annuitie or annuall pencion of twentye sixe poundes thirteen shillings and fowrepence and a sufficient mansion for his habitacion," the advowson to be in the hands of the Lord Mayor and Corporation, as the Governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

It was on the day of the reopening of the Church (January 3rd, 1547) that Ridley, from Paul's Cross, announced to the City the gift of the "House of the Poor." How far then was this a generous arrangement? How is it in accord with the greed of the Tudors, and of Henry in particular? This at least may be urged, that the King cannot have gained very much from the bargain. It is true that he was only disgorging what he had already appropriated, but St.

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Bartholomew's was estimated at the Dissolution to be worth £304 16s. 5d., and John Howes states that he gave with it a yearly income of £380 4s. 2d. The discredit of the transaction appears dimly in the preliminary negotiations; for Henry had plainly endeavoured to make the Corporation pay for St. Bartholomew's and the rest of the "gift"; but happily there were hard-headed men in the City, then as now, and the Tudor found them, as he confessed, very "pinch-pence" in their transactions. Apparently then he made a virtue of necessity. He was the "dator," not the "hilaris dator" of Apostolic precept. "This was a noble foundacon of this worthie King in the latter ende of his raigne," says "Dignitie" in Howes' *Dialogue*, only six-and-thirty years after the event; "his fame shall never die so longe as the worlde endurethe." But it came to pass a few months after the signing of the Indentures that Henry died, and the historian of Christ's Hospital finds himself looking into a gap of five years without the wherewithal to fill it. What use was made during the earlier part of Edward's reign of the "Grey Friars" property? How far did it fulfil its object as a House of Detention for vagabonds and as a shelter for the poor? Did it do any educational work? It is almost impossible to say. Some information may be derived from one or two entries in the records of the City Fathers. Here is one belonging to the first year of Edward VI., dated July 14th, which I transliterate into modern English: "Item this day Sir Martin Bowes, Knight, and Mr. Barne and Mr. Hynde, Aldermen, William Rawlyns and Thomas Lodge, Grocers, and George Tadlowe, Haberdasher, are assigned to receive all the money coming towards the poor of the devotion of the people through the City monthly, and also to survey the works of Christ Church and of the Hospital for the poor." There are other entries on July 26th and September 29th in the same year, dealing with Mr. Alderman Hynde's discharge of his duties in this matter, which had been so "well begone," and there is reason for supposing that St. Bartholomew's Hospital and what would ultimately be Christ's Hospital were being benefited and developed concurrently. The next pertinent entry in the

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same records brings us close to the end of these five mysterious years. It is again the 14th of July, but the date is 1552, and we are within six months of the beginning of the occupation. "At this Court," it says, "for divers urgent considerations moving the same, it was agreed that there shall be as much of the orphanage (*i.e.* the orphan fund) of the nexte orphanes that shall fall, where any part thereof may reasonably be taken and be spared, brought into this Court, as shall amount to £300, the same to be lent and delivered immediately to the Governors of the House of the Poor towards the finishing of their new frame in St. Nicholas Shambles."

This extract is at once difficult and important. The "House of the Poor" was then, and for all legal purposes still is, the name of St. Bartholomew's Hospital; but the "new frame in St. Nicholas Shambles" may well have some reference to Christ's Hospital. Moreover, the grant of £300 was to go towards "finishing" the work, which must clearly have been begun at an earlier date than we give it credit for. Stow dates the beginning of "the preparing of the Grey Friars house in London for the poore fatherless children" from July 26th, 1552,* but in the above extract from the Corporation records, written "this day," a grant is made towards "finishing" the work on July 14th, 1552, or twelve days before Stow's date for beginning, which could be got over if we read "furnish" for "finish." The difficulty is a small one, if we can once persuade ourselves that the years that followed Henry's original grant were not wasted, that money was being raised, and interest was being excited. The City had set its hand to the plough, and the City has a way of not turning back.

But if the actual day of the inception of the great task eludes us, we are on sure ground when we open the exquisitely written original "account," dated 1552-8, which is still in the custody of the Clerk. After a statement of moneys received from the ward-boxes, from the great box in the cloister, and from individual citizens, it begins, in July,

* *Annales* (ed. 1615), p. 608.

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1552, with payments of "rewards" to carpenters, bricklayers, *et hoc genus omne*. And it is only when we come to the month of November that provisions were needed for inmates. We are however able, by means of Howes' *Contemporaneous Account*, to trace the steps between January 1547 and November 1552 a little more definitely, at any rate during the last part of the period: "In the latter yerres of King Edwarde," he says, "the officers began to be negligent and chefully the bedells, so that the streates and lanes in London began to swarme wth beggers and roges . . . so that St. Bartholomewes hospitall was not able to receyve the tenth part of those that then were to be provided for."

The cry went up from the pulpits of London that further help was needed. Edward VI. has been the victim at various hands of the most extravagant eulogy, and indeed one who came between Henry and Mary had a chance to deserve praise. Whatever was his real character or virtue, he was certainly not deaf to a plain and practical petition, and the Court Preachers were not slow to make it. Listen, for instance, to Thomas Leaver. It is the Fourth Sunday in Lent, and the Gospel for the day is the Feeding of the Five Thousand. In the middle of his sermon the good Master of St. John's College turns to the King: "O merciful Lord, what a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, lye and creep, begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster?" What, he asks, can be the use of bidding them sit down in quietness and industry, unless care be taken that there shall be enough "grass in the place"? On a mind young and receptive, such as Edward's apparently was, an appeal of this nature could not fail of its effect.

Still more was he touched by the pleading of Ridley. The famous incident, on whose main facts it is impossible in view of the evidence to cast the slightest doubt, is mentioned briefly by Howes, and with some detail by Stow, who had it from Richard Grafton. It will therefore be the simplest way to take it from Grafton himself (*Chronicle*, ed. 1809, vol. ii. p. 529):—

'Not long after the death of the sayde Duke (Somerset) and his complices, it chaunced the reuerend father in GOD Maister Doctor Ridley then Bishop of London to preach before the Kinges Maiestie at Westminster. In the which sermon he made a fruitfull and Godly exhortation to the riche to be merciful vnto the poore, and also moued such as were in auctoritie to trauaile by some charitable waye and meane to comfort and relieue them. Wherevpon the Kinges Maiestie beyng a Prince of such towardnesse and vertue for hys yeres as England before neuer brought forth, and the same also beyng so well treyned and brought vp in al Godly knowledge, as well by his dere Vncle the late Protector as also by his verteous and learned Scholemaisters, was so carefull of the good gouernment of the realme, and chiefly to do and preferre such thinges as most specially touched the honor of almightie GOD. And vnderstandyng that a great number of poore people did swarme in this realme, and chiefly in the Citie of London, and that no good order was taken for them, did sodainly and of himselfe send to the sayd Bishop as-soone as his Sermon was ended, willyng him not to depart vntill that he had spoken with him (and this that I nowe write was the verye report of the sayde Bishop Ridley) and accordyng to the Kynges commaundement he gaue hys attendaunce. And so soone as the Kinges Maiestie was at leysure, he called for him and made him come vnto him in a great Galery at Westminster, wherein to his knowledge, and the Kinge also told him so, there was present no mo persons than they two, and therfore made him sit downe in one chaire, and he himselfe in another, which as it seemed were before the coming of the Bishop there purposely set, and caused the Bishop mauger his teeth to be couered, and then entred communication with him in this sort, first geuing him most heartie thanks for his Sermon and good exhortation, and therein rehersed such speciall thinges as he had noted, and that so many that the Bishop sayde, Truly, truly, (for that was commonly his othe), I could neuer haue thought that excellency to haue bene in his grace, that I behelde and saw in him. At the last the Kings Maiestie much commended him for his exhortation for the reliefe of the poore, but my Lorde sayth he, ye willed such as are in auctoritie to be carefull thereof and to deuise some good order for theyr reliefe, wherein I thinke you meant me, for I am in highest place, and therefore am the first that must make answeare vnto GOD for my negligence if I shoulde not be carefull therein, knowyng it to be the expresse commaundement of almightie GOD

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to haue compassion of his poore and nedie members for whom we must make an accompt vnto him. And truely my Lorde I am before all things most willing to trauaile that way, and I doubt nothing of your long and approved wisdom and learyng, who hauyng such good zeale as wissheth helpe vnto them, but that also you haue had some conference with others what wayes are best to be taken therein, the which I am desirous to vnderstand, and therefore I pray you say your minde.

'The Bishop thinkyng least of that matter, and beyng amased to here the wisdom and earnest zeale of the King was, as he sayd himselfe, so astonied that he could not well tell what to say. But after some pawse sayd that, as he thought, at this presence for some entraunce to be had it were good to practyse with the Citie of London, because the number of the poore there are very great, and the Citizens are many and also wise. And he doubted not but they were also both pitifull and mercifull, as the Maior and his brethren and other the worshipfull of the sayd Citie, and that if it would please the Kinges Maiestie to direct his gracious letter vnto the Maior of London, willyng hym to call vnto him such assistaunce as he should thinke meete to consult of thys matter for some order to be taken therein, he doubted not but good should folow thereof. And he himselfe promised the King to be one that would earnestly trauaile therein. The King forthwith not onely graunted his letter, but made the Bishop tary vntill the same was written, and his hand and signet set therevnto, and commaunded the Bishop not only to deliuer the same letter himselfe, but also to signifie vnto the Maior that it was the King's speciall request and expresse commaundement, that the Maior should therein trauaile, and assoone as he might conueniently geue knowledge vnto him how farre he had proceded therein. The Bishop was so joyous of the hauing of this letter, and that he had nowe an occasion to trauaile in that good matter, wherein he was mervelous zelous, that nothing could more haue pleased and delighted him. Wherefore the same night he came to the Maior of London, who then was Sir Richard Dobbes Knight and deliuered the Kinges letter, and shewed his message with effect. . . . And the next day being Monday he desired the Bishop of London to dine with him, and agaynst that time the Maior promised that he would sende for such men as he thought meetest to talke of this matter, and so he did. And sent first for two Aldermen and six Commoners, and afterwards were appoynted more to the number of xxiiii.'

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For the details of their proposals we go to "Howes":—

I. (i.). The House of the Grey Friars must become a hospital for "fatherless children and other poore mens children," who could there find meat, drink, clothes, lodging, and learning, and "officers to attende vppon them."

(ii.) Considering "the corrupte nature of the children whoe being taken from the dounghill mighte one infecte another," Finsbury Court should be acquired as a sanatorium.

(iii.) Infants should be kept in the country till they were old enough to be instructed; "but allwaies at Easter broughte home."

II. For the lame and the aged shelter, food, and "chirurgians" should be provided at St. Thomas' Hospital "in Sowthwarke."

III. "Ydell and lustie roges," men and women alike, must be consigned to a workhouse.

IV. Lazars must be kept out of the streets on a weekly pension.

Such, for our purpose, were the principal proposals in their "booke," which was duly delivered and apparently approved by Edward; for the nine persons who were the original members of the Committee immediately increased their number to thirty, and "did comonly mete every daie in the inner Chamber in the Gvildhall"; there were many also in the City who gave the Lord Mayor no rest "tyll they had order to proceade & power gyven them to doe all that was nedefull." Ridley's parting word to the Lord Mayor is in clear accord with all that we find here: "The Lord wroughte with thee and gaue thee the consent of thy brethren." The constitution of the "xxxth brethren" is worth noticing: six were Aldermen, of whom two had "passed the chair," the rest, citizens nominated by the City—a purely civic body, establishing at the very first the close connection which has always till now bound together the Corporation and Christ's Hospital.

Having constituted themselves guardians of the trust, which as yet involved only a building wherein to shelter the objects of their care, they proceeded to convince them-

selves and the public of the need of such work as theirs. In touch with the City and its government, they would make the City supply the necessary information. "The Aldermen of every Warde & the Wardeines of every Companye broughte in theire reportes severallye of every of the sortes of the poore," under the heads of "ffatherles children" (300)—"sore and sicke"—"poore men overburdened with theire children" (350)—"aged"—"decayed householders"—"ydell vagabondes."* Either John Howes was weak in arithmetic, or there is a *locus spinosus* in the manuscript, for the total he gives does not tally with the details. The figures that concern us are those given above, and the whole number, according to Howes, was 2,160, which is not surprisingly large, considering the motley array of its constituents, but is sufficiently appalling for all that. Therefore, at the outset of their enterprise, they had to sit down and count the cost, the place of their daily meeting being, as before, "the inner Chamber in the Guildhall." To their everlasting credit, "they fyrste thoughte good to begynne wth themselves." According to their position and ability, they gave each their contribution, £10 or £20 as the case might be. Two sheriffs' fines were also granted, a matter of £200, and the result of the whole "presse" was £748, "or there abouts." After so self-denying an ordinance they were not ashamed to look further afield, and a statement of Stow that the inhabitants of the City were summoned to Church and harangued by Sir Richard Dobbs and the aldermen almost makes us think that Dean Stanley's action in inviting a layman to lecture in Westminster Abbey was after all not so startling and original. The nearer and better authority of Howes puts a different complexion upon the action of our good Governors. They divided themselves, he tells us, into two companies, called together "the preachers mynisters, churche wardeines and sydemmen," and exhorted them to obtain from their parishioners "a francke benevolence and wekely pencion." They did better still. If they could not mount the pulpits *in propria persona*, at least they meant to be heard by proxy. They

* HOWES, *Contemporaneous Account*, p. 11.



SIR RICHARD DOBBS

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MR. CHARLES E. BROWNE OF THE PICTURE IN THE
 COURT ROOM

printed and circulated "a very fyne wittie and learned oracon," giving a copy to every minister and preacher "the better to instruct and perswade the people in every paryshe to give liberallye,"* and, presumably, the parsons pocketed their pride and did as they were commanded.

Thus this Tudor "Hospital Sunday" is not without a suggestion for the management of its modern representative. Nay, so little have the methods of collecting money changed or advanced in the last four centuries that "boxes" were distributed just as now, in which householders might "gather of their ghests their benevolence to that good worcke." The City was canvassed in its Companies, the populace was harangued at "Pawles Crosse," and in response to the canvassing and the preaching "the worcke was so generally well lyked" that money was given freely, a proof not merely of the popularity of the object, but much more of the need it was meant to supply. Once more, to mark the public sense of the necessity of the case, and withal to prove that in such matters the sixteenth century was well abreast of the mendicant devices of the twentieth, a slip of paper with a blank space for the amount of his subscription, or in the words of the Chronicler, a "byll prynted wherein there was a glass wyndowe left open," was given to each householder to be filled up.

The upshot of all this effort was so large a contribution that the Thirty felt justified in going to the Corporation and in demanding that they should do their part. The City Fathers, not to be outdone, gave "an hundrethe pownds and 50^d a yere Lande," and though the land was afterwards "toured over" to St. Thomas's Hospital, the moral effect of the gift remains in the close ties that should still bind the School to the City and the City to the School. The houses of refuge were more or less ready to their hand. For want of funds it would appear that the "Grey Friars" had been put to hardly any use, and at the moment we have reached was absolutely untenanted, save by "a number of hoores & roges," and save that in it "there laie one Thomas Bryckett,

* *Ibid.*, p. 12.

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Vicar of Chrystes church," the first incumbent under the new charter already described. He was not averse to a bargain; the Governors "compounded and boughte all his tables beadsteads & other things" and so got rid of him. Then nothing stood between them and the beginning of the occupation of the buildings on the site that time has made so famous. Parson Bryckett's lodging became "a compting house & lodging for their clarkke." The fabric in general was much out of repair; it needed a responsible officer to watch over it, and the money that had been subscribed called for careful husbandry. It was natural, then, that "these xxxth psons thoughte yt good to make choyce of Officers." The first of an able line of Treasurers was Thomas Roe, or Rowe, afterwards Lord Mayor and Knight, though it is questionable if he ever assumed the office. It says something for the continuity of things that the present Treasurer, if his life is spared, will be Lord Mayor and has just filled the ancient office of Sheriff. Roe was succeeded, or perhaps at once replaced, by Richard Grafton, the "King's Printer." Under him and his colleagues the work got under weigh.

In Howes' quaint dialogue "Dignitie," the convenient person who leads up to all the desirable subjects becomes, after the long preface, so excited at the hope of being at last allowed to read the first chapter that, even at the risk of postponing that pleasure, he demands a list of "these good Governo^r." The reader may feel interest enough in the matter to be ready to make a similar sacrifice and to let the honest chronicler speak for himself:—

'Whereuppon the Governo^r meeting at the Gvildhalle agreed to mete all in the Compting house made for the Governo^r in Christes Hospitall on the vith daie of October 1552. At w^{ch} time and place they mette whose names hereafter followe. Viz.

Aldermen.	S ^r Martyn Bowes	John Browne
	S ^r Andrewe Judde	William Chester
	S ^r John Olyve	Thomas Lodge
	M ^r Jarveis	Guye Waed
	M ^r Hewetts	John Blundell

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Thomas Bartlett
Clement Newce
William Crompton
John Callthroppe
M^r Lonne

M^r Heywarde
Walter Younge
Thomas Ffenton
Henry Ffisher
Jesper Ffisher
Thomas Locke
M^r Essex
Thomas Eaton

Richarde Hill
George Toedlowe
Thomas Hunte
William Peterson
Edward Wythers
John Vickers
Richarde Grafton.'

The most memorable name in the list is that of Richard Grafton, the first active Treasurer of Christ's Hospital, to whose life and work Mr. Kingdon has devoted such fruitful study. Grafton had behind him, at the moment when Christ's Hospital was started, an adventurous career, which there is no need here to follow in detail. It has already been mentioned that latterly his work as a printer had been carried on within the Grey Friars, perhaps within the church itself. Thus "the Prymer" in English and Latin was "printed in the House late Graye Freers by Richard Grafton and Edward Whytchurch." Mr. Sidney Lee, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, quotes Machyn's statement that Grafton was "chief master" of Christ's Hospital, and mentions a suggestion "that Grafton resided there in an official capacity." Of the "official capacity" there is no doubt at all. Early in the autumn of 1552 he was appointed one of the "Surveyors to see the worckes goe forwards," and on October 6th he was in the Counting House as one of the thirty Governors. He became Treasurer in 1553 and served the office for four years; but there was no official residence for the Treasurer at that period, and if Grafton resided in the Grey Friars, it must have been in the house which he occupied for the purposes of his business, and for which no doubt, when the Hospital was properly organised, he paid rent to himself as its Treasurer.

But the executive functions and the daily supervision

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needed hands and heads less occupied with commercial duties than those of the Thirty. So again we go to our chronicler* for a list of the officers chosen. Viz. :—

		£	s.	d.
Wardeine of ye house	John Vickers [possibly the Governor of that name] who had yerelye for his paines & service a gowne clothe of	2	13	4
Clarke	John Watson whose fee and lyverye was	10	0	0
Stewarde	William Smoothing whose fee was yerely	6	13	4
Buttler	Thomas Mason whose yerely fee was	6	13	4
Under-buttler	William Benne whose yerely fee was	2	0	0
Cooke	Anthonye Ideson whose yerely fee was	8	0	0
Porters	John Saepschead & John Fforeskeue whose yerely fee was to eache of them w th their lyveryes	6	0	0
Gramer Schoole Mayster	John Robynson whose yerely fee was	15	0	0
Gramer Usher	Jeames Seamer whose yerely fee was	10	0	0
A Teacher to write	John Watson whose yerely fee was	3	6	8
Schoole-Maisters for the Petties A.B.C.	Thomas Lowes and Thomas Cutts whose yerely fees to eache of them	2	13	4
A schoole-Maister for Musicke	A teacher of Pricksonge whose yerely fee was	2	13	4
Chirurgione	Robte Ballthroppe whose yerely fee was	13	6	8
Chirurgione	Henry Browne whose yerely fee was	4	0	0
A Barbor	John Staples whose yerelye fee was	2	0	0
A Taylor	Robte Cooke whose yerelye fee was	2	13	4

* HOWES, pp. 15, 16.



KING EDWARD VI.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY MR. CHARLES E. BROWNE OF THE PORTRAIT BY HOLBEIN
IN THE COURT ROOM

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		£	s.	d.
The coale-keper	Trongon Charsley whose yerelye fee was	2	0	0
The mazon scourer	Thomas Lucas whose yerelye fee was	0	10	0

There were allso encreased more Beadelles & theire wages was allso encreased by reason that theire pains was then greater then before.

Governo ^m	M ^r Vickers whose yerelye fee was	1	6	8
Matron	Agnes Sexton whose yerelye fee was besyde a liverye and 18 ^d a weke for hir boorde	3	6	8
Systers	xxv th e and every of them had yerelye for their severall fees xl ^s & a lyverey and xvi pence a weke for theire boorde wages.			
The Bruer	John Wasse had for his yerelye fee			
	The Sextone of Chrystes church had for his attendance yerelye	1	0	0

In this list of the first staff of the Foundation several points call for comment. At the outset it prepares to deserve its title of "Hospital" by spending far more on the comfort, the clothing, the cleanliness of the inmates than upon their education.* The combined salaries of the C. H. "chirurgiones" are more than equal to that of the "Head Master." The wages of the Matron and "Systers," irrespective of "theire boorde," amount to nearly three times the sum paid to the assistant-masters. It has sometimes been suggested that Howes' list includes the Nurses and officials of St. Thomas's Hospital as well as those of Christ's; but the Parker manuscript, to be again referred to, disposes of this idea. It has a similar list, and mentions *forty-four* "Kepers of the same children and

* See Stow, chap. ii. p. 64: "In the yeere 1553 after the erection of Christ's Hospitall . . . a schoole was also ordained there."

aged people in both the houses," five surgeons, two stewards, two butlers, two cooks, two clerks, and two matrons. The manuscript only lapses into the singular when it comes to the "Scole-master" and the "ussher," and the "scolemaster for wrytinge." Clearly Christ's Hospital monopolised the latter, and had its fair share of the matrons, nurses, "chirurgiones," and the like, as given in the Parker MS.

But, however large its nursing staff, it is perfectly clear that Christ's Hospital, within a few months of its start in life, became a School instead of being the mere Foundling Hospital that some investigators of the school-systems of the period would have us believe it. It is true, in a strictly literal sense, that Christ's Hospital "was not founded as a Grammar School, but as a Foundling Hospital."* Yet, as the foundlings were brought in during November, 1552, and the grammar-master and his staff drew their first quarter's salary in June, 1553, the interval of Foundlingism, pure and simple, was short enough. Indeed the original staff, considering that the first batch of 280 teachable inmates would not all be boys, and that the girls would fall to the care of the matron, was by no means small, according to the standard of the time. The infants came under the "schoole maisters for the Petties (or 'Petites') A.B.C." who were ultimately merged in the Writing School, while the rest were taught writing by John Watson, the Clerk to the Governors. But the most remarkable item is "the schoole-Maister for Music," further described as "a teacher of Pricksonge." The Music School will be discussed elsewhere, but the point now is that this so-called Foundling Hospital at once follows the example of so many of the Grammar Schools of the time in making provision for the teaching of music, a duty never neglected by it to this day. It comes, then, to this, that Christ's Hospital starts with a Grammar Master, and an Usher under him, a Writing Master, and two elementary teachers, a Music Master, and a Matron to look after the "mayden-children"—or a staff of seven for under three hundred children. As a beginning, it is not disgraceful, though it is far from adequate, and it

* LEACH, *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 4.

was large enough to justify itself in a very short time. The first "Blue" who is recorded to have left the Hospital for the University went to Cambridge by the assistance of the Governors in 1566, or thirteen years after the foundation; but the system of record-keeping during that period was so unsatisfactory that no one can be sure whether John Priestman was actually the first or not. The entry to the effect that "1566. June the 15. John Prestman went to the vniuersitie of Cambridge as in the court Bok fo. 29" rather suggests that it was no unusual event, and, as this happened a dozen years or so from the beginning of Christ's Hospital teaching, it is no great assumption that the course of instruction from the first was neither better nor worse than that of the ordinary Grammar Schools of the day. If any discredit attaches to the Hospital in this connection, it may be stated in terms of the fact that two centuries later, when there were 516 children in the London School, the staff consisted of the Upper and Lower Grammar masters, the Writing School master, the Mathematical master, the master of the Drawing School, and the "Musick Master," together with Upper and Lower Girls' School mistresses—or a total of eight, to whom it is probably necessary to add an apprentice or two in the Writing School. The latter contained in 1769 no less than 263 pupils, while in the Grammar School, James Boyer, then about thirty-three years of age, was responsible for the instruction of 129 boys. Certainly Christ's Hospital deserved the title of Grammar School in 1553, more, not less, than it did in 1769. It may be noted that either the "Bruer" brews for sheer love of brewing, or there is a "lacuna" in the manuscript.

The general appearance of the scheme, then, points to something between a Free Grammar School and a Foundling Hospital, which was necessary to clear the streets. The only functionaries who are too numerous to be numbered are the "Beadelles," and for all they were so many, "theire pains was" likely to be greater yet. Their modern representatives to-day take life more easily, for there are three centuries of good discipline at their back, and that running away of the inmates, which was the plague of the first beadles, has been

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only the occasional excitement of the later ones, till "chasing" has finally died a natural death.

And so at last we are brought to the actual beginnings of this "high emprise," and it would be a day much to be remembered if we could arrive at the actual date of the first inmates' first entry. "In the month of September," says Stow, as enlarged by Strype; more circumstantial, and more open to suspicion, is another statement that the children were taken into the Hospital on the 23rd of November, 1552. John Howes fails us just when we want him, though he gives the number admitted to the benefits of the charity; but he more than makes up for his want of dates by the vivid reasons alleged for the great mortality among the children. A number of them, says he, "being taken from the dunghill when they came to swete and cleane keping and to a pure dyett dyed downe righte"! Three hundred and eighty came into this haven when it was ready to welcome them, and though of these a hundred were put out to nurse as mere infants, there must have been serious difficulty in the early and inexperienced stage of the management in barring the entry of those various ailments which young flesh is heir to, and which three centuries and a half of medical progress have taught us only to cure and not to prevent.

Several features have already suggested themselves as connecting the new times with the old, and it should not be forgotten that the original scheme comprised a system of pensions. Six hundred "decayed housholders" were "allso releved wekely." The adult poor and "the lustie roges" of both sexes, of whom the streets had likewise to be relieved, were swept into the Hospital in such abundance that further accommodation had to be provided for them, and again Ridley is in the forefront of the enterprise. He is represented as delivering a "fyne supplicacon" to the King, and constituting himself the mouthpiece, not of the Lord Mayor and the citizens, but of "the myserable sore sicke and friendless people" to whom, in those days of vigorous bumbledom, even the streets were no longer open. There is, besides, his letter to Cecil in May, 1552, with its quaint

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suggestion that "Christ should lie no more abroad in the street" while "a wide, large, empty house of the King's Majesty, called Bridewell," was ready at hand "to lodge Christ in." This "learned oracon" was delivered in presence of twelve representatives of the City, including Sir "Martyn Boes," Mr. Peter Blundell, and Mr. Grafton, and it did not fail of its effect. Bridewell was granted to them, with the revenues of the Savoy, something over £500 a year, to endow the foundation, and in the possession of them we may leave it. But Bridewell's connection with Christ's Hospital consists in something more than a respect for their common Patron and Founder, and an enjoyment for some years of the revenues of a common fund. Entries in the first Court Book (1562-92) show that children were sent, four or five at a time, to Bridewell to learn a trade, returning to Christ's Hospital for their meals; that small sums were given by our Governors to Bridewell for taking care of sucklings; and that in other cases an arrangement was made for "Blue" children to pay twelve shillings for their abode in Bridewell eight weeks, and then to remain there free of charge; besides which these pages will show that it was not an uncommon threat in later centuries that disorderly youths would be packed off to Bridewell for correction.

Meanwhile, as far as Christ's Hospital itself is concerned, matters had progressed. In the months that followed their first entry into the gates the children had become, not only presentable, but orderly. By Christmas, 1552, they were ready in their "livery of russet cotton" to line "the procession of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to St. Paul's, from Lawrence Lane westward." They were again under the public eye the following Easter, when they attended the Spital sermons.

This chapter may fitly close with some reference to the earliest authentic account which we possess of the work and financial condition of the Hospital during the first year of its existence. It is stated to have been drawn up in order to set before King Edward the latest results of his efforts at the time when the signing of the charter was imminent or under

consideration (that is to say, in May or June, 1553). The copy of it, to which my brother—a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge—kindly drew my attention, is in Archbishop Parker's collection in the splendid library of that college, and the handwriting bears a close resemblance to that of the earliest documents at the Hospital, which are presumably the penmanship of John Watson, the clerk and writing-master. There is another copy in a different hand in the British Museum (Harl. MS. No. 604,176), and in each case there are certain defects in the arithmetic. The chief points are as follows. The title of the document is, "A true and Shorte Declaration of the state and charge of the newe erected hospitalles in the cite of London. Anno Dom. 1553." First, the finances: "The whole benevolence graunted of all the citizens of London towarde the ereccon of the two houses, that is to say of St. Thomas and Christe Hospitalle," amounted to £2,476. But "the charges of the ereccon of those two houses and the furniture of them" came to £2,479 10s. 10d., leaving a deficit on the original cost of only £3 10s. 10d. Next, the maintenance for the first year, which came to far more than the capital expenditure. The "meate, bread and drynke" of the five hundred and forty inmates of the two hospitals came to £1,638 per annum. "Novrishing of one hundred children" in the country "at x^d the weke" cost £216 3s. 4d. a year. "Apparell, . . . that ys to saye sheates, shertes, cotes, cappes, hosen, showes, paper bookes, ynke, which some tyme ys more and some tyme ys lesse," cost £260. The salaries and board of the forty-four "kepers" accounted for £117 5s. 4d., on the basis that "every keper hath xvi^d the weke and ii matrones xviii^d the weke." "Ffewell, that ys to saie, wode and cole," cost £260. Pensions "to decaied householders in sondrye parishes in the cite of London" amounted to £468 a year. The governors also gave £60 a year in subscriptions to "the Lazer houses adioyninge to the cite of London to the intende they shall not begge within the same nor within three myles compasse thereof, except it be at their owne door, to the great anoyance of all suche as have frequented



THE PRESENTATION OF THE CHARTER

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE PICTURE IN THE HALL ; COPYRIGHT MR. CHAS. W. CAREY

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the citie in the terme time." Last, the salaries represent an annual payment of £301 6s. 8d. The total yearly expenditure, for which the Archbishop's manuscript does not completely account, is stated to be £3,290 5s. 4d. And now for the *devotio civium*. "There ys collectede," says the statement, "by the geste and free allmes of the citizens" £291 4s., leaving a deficiency of £376 5s. 4d. Legacies and donations reduced the debt the first year by £129 15s. 8d., and the balance of the ordinary expenditure, £246 9s. 8d., "hath been paid and disbursed by the Governors of the said houses out of their owne purses, which daylie travayle for the good order of them."

This interesting balance-sheet cannot be dismissed without a word or two. First, it clearly belongs to the end of the first year's work, which, as far as Christ's Hospital is concerned, must make its date somewhere in November, 1553. Secondly, it is hardly likely to have been prepared for the satisfaction of Edward VI., who would find from it that any royal assistance to the finances of the Royal Hospitals was painfully conspicuous by its absence. And, thirdly, it shows that practically every penny of the support given came out of the pockets of living citizens with the exception of the small sum given, doubtless by citizens, after death.

Such was the beginning of this great enterprise. Land and buildings "given" by Henry VIII. for one purpose in 1547 were again "given" by Edward VI. for another purpose in 1552. If the "gifts" of Kings had been the only gifts, Christ's Hospital would never have enjoyed its useful life. It owed its start, as it has owed its steady continuance in well-doing, to the generosity of the citizens of London. But nothing can rob Edward of the lasting fame of having signed the charter which is still in the Hospital's possession. It is dated "at Westminster the twenty-sixth day of June in the seventh year of our reign." It contains the famous entry, in his own handwriting, that the Governors were to be allowed to receive land in mortmain or to acquire it to the value of "four thousand marks by the yeare." The scene of its signature has been perpetuated in a stiff and inartistic

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picture,* attributed to Holbein, who did not live till the date in question. But a happier presentment of it is enshrined in the legend which tells that, as his feeble fingers dropped the pen, the young King was heard to say, "Lord, I yield Thee most hearty thanks that Thou hast given me life thus long to finish this work to the glory of Thy Name." Eleven days later he passed away.

* Mr. C. W. Carey, who has this picture under careful restoration at Horsham, believes it to be the work of Sir Antonio More.

CHAPTER III.

THE SCHOOL AND ITS CHILDREN

"We were hungry and Thou hast fed us."

BISHOP COMPTON'S C. H. PRAYERS.

THE reader, who has had patience with me so far, will have been able to see that the founding of Christ's Hospital was not so much Edward's project as Henry's, and not so much Kings' work as the City's; that it was not a matter of amateur benevolence, but of economic necessity; that Christ's Hospital was almost from the first a grammar-school as well as an asylum for foundlings. We know by this time, thanks to the trenchant investigations of Mr. Leach, that there was ample supply of good schools in the England of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and that the educational fervour of the Tudors is but borrowed plumage. I have endeavoured in this case to estimate the credit they deserve.

It is necessary to make these reservations in order to fend off any disappointment at the barrenness of the early years' records. What could they consist of, save entries to the effect that such a child, his name given him on admission, had been put out to nurse till he should be seven or eight years of age and be fit to knock about in the school? As long as there were still waifs and strays to be looked after, the Governors kept their attention fixed on this part of their duty. Each child, as it first came into their care, meant a life to be kept going rather than an intellect to be developed. But already, in the Poor Law legislation, a movement was afoot which tended to make the foundling work of Christ's Hospital ultimately superfluous and to leave the way clear

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for the work of the schoolmaster. If our Parish registers start mostly with the year 1538, it is because Crumwell had the foresight to see what the dissolution of the monasteries would mean to the poor; and so, at his instigation, Henry had arranged to throw the burden of pauperism on the well-to-do in each parish. It only shows how slowly the community learns wisdom, that this Act (27 Henry VIII.) orders "that no person shall give any money in alms, but to the common boxes or common gatherings in every parish, upon pain to forfeit ten times as much as shall be given." Moreover, the contents of these "common boxes or common gatherings" of the City parishes passed by common consent into the coffers of Christ's Hospital, as being the acknowledged means of caring for the young paupers. In 1563, ten years after the doors were opened, twenty-eight parish boxes contained only £17 13s. 4d., as against £24 6s. 3d. from twenty-three wards in the year before, and there was clearly a tightness about the charity money-market. So it is not surprising to find that in 1562, the former of the two years of which we are able to give the figures, Elizabeth should have set her seal to a stringent Act (5 Eliz. c. 3). It ordains that the poor and impotent of every parish shall be relieved of that which every person will "of their charity" give weekly. None of them shall openly go and sit begging; and if any parishioner shall refuse to pay reasonably toward the relief of the poor, or discourage others, the justices of the peace may tax him in a reasonable weekly sum, and if he refuse to pay it they may commit him to prison.

How is it that, in spite of this Act, there are constant complaints in the Counting-House of the Hospital that the sums due in respect of waifs received have not been paid? Times of outward prosperity like the reign of Elizabeth are always pervaded by a certain leaven of improvidence, and the number of foundlings was not likely to diminish because there was now a definite home for them. All we can do in the shape of answer is to give instances of the way in which the City made use of the Hospital, and then add,

as bearing upon the same point, various details as to the age at which children were admitted.

It is curious that the first proof of the admission of a foundling should come from an outside source, namely the City archives.* It bears date "13 Sept. 1 & 2 Philip and Mary," *i.e.* A.D. 1554.

At this Court it was agreed that "the yonge Tenter infant" laid in the church porch of Saint Pancras,† "as Alex. Merynge, Mercer, and others, informed the Court here this day," shall be received into "Xristes hospytall wthin Newgate and theire nerysshed op at the Cyties chargies."

Another entry in December of the same year records a like order in regard to a "poore yonge mayden chylde," which was being kept "in bethelem where it was borne."

The same system of making the original buildings a refuge for destitute infants is attested by items in the Court Minutes of the Hospital, only at a rather later date; *e.g.* "1557. May 10. It was also graunted that a woman chylde about thage of half a yere left on Mr. Gunter's Stall in Cornehill and by him kepte sythence Candlemas even shuld also be admitted." Or again, still later, when the economic arrangements must have been fairly stereotyped, we come upon the following: 1571 [day not given]. John Ratfford, a sick and poor infant of four years, was taken in and admitted, because the mother "was all comfortlesse and wthoute howse or anie other comphert."

But though we have no definite mention of many such admissions, the system is amply borne out by the figures. I have before me a list of seventy children received in the following year, A.D. 1572. Their ages range from fourteen days to fifteen years, and the result of further analysis is quite conclusive. Eleven were over nine years old, eight were between six and nine, fifteen were between three and six, no less than thirty-six, or more than half, were three years old and under, and of these latter twenty-three, or roughly two-thirds, were infants of between twelve months and two weeks. Nor was this mercy to the

* Repertory 13, fol. 197 b.

† Doubtless "S. Pancras, Soper Lane," now united with "S. Mary-le-bow."

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helplessly young a mere passing whim or a momentary necessity of the case. The Hospital accomplished its first century of work under Oliver Cromwell in 1653, and the admissions of that year numbered two hundred and twenty. The proportions, it is true, are a good deal changed, but the infants are still there. Of the two hundred and twenty, one hundred and twenty-three are under six years old, but one hundred and seventeen of these are over three. There are still three children on the list of less than twelve months. Evidently the foundling business was not so brisk in Newgate Street under the Protector as it had been a hundred years before, and the various regulations of the Court help us to see how it was gradually modified. But, before we leave this early feature of the work, it will be well to say how the Hospital discharged its obligations to this bundle of young life, male and female. Certainly, under whatever difficulties, education played its part in the life of the institution, though it cannot have been easy to systematise a curriculum for the multitudinous needs of girls and boys whose ages varied between fourteen years and fourteen days. How was it all managed?

We take a glance first at the charge given in 1556 to the Under-treasurer, who seems to correspond roughly to the modern Steward, inasmuch as his "office is first and before all other things to take an Inventory of all the Bedds, Shetes, Shirtes, Smocks, Hosen, Showes, clothe bothe woollen and Lynnen, blanquetts, bolsters, pillowes, stocke-bedds, Mattresses, paddes of strawe, couletts, bedsteades, cupbourdes, presses, lockes, keyes, potts, Cawdrons, pannes, platters, dysshes." True, he had some power of spending money in "petty cash," but it was done under strict supervision, for he is told he is not to lay out any sums without having "the handes" of six or more governors to warrant him, and "if ye do ye shall have none allowance for the same." So he probably did not. But his relation to the infant foundlings becomes clear when we read that he is to "cause a speciall daye of viewe to be had of all the children that are at the charge of Christes Hospitall either

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at the fyndinge of the house, or at nurse in the countrie, or succoured by pensions given to certeyne psons for the fyndinge of them."

The charge of the same date to the Governors deals with the numbers to be thus benefited; namely, "of Sucklings to be comitted to nurse not above CL^u and of children to be admitted in to the house to lodginge and learninge not above CCL^u." These figures differ slightly from those recorded in the Parker manuscript already referred to in the preceding chapter, which shows that in the first year of work there were "daylye Lodged and ffed in Christes hospitall cclxxx children," while there were then only one hundred children "in the cuntrey for nourssinge," at the rate of "x^d the weke." Three years had certainly added to the numbers of both, and the Governors of 1556 are ordered to work down gradually to the regulation figures of two hundred and fifty scholars and one hundred and fifty nurslings.

The difficulty of organising the education of so mixed a multitude has already been noticed. Let it be at once said to the credit of the Governors that they made a brave attempt. John Howes' list of the first Staff is fully supported by the Parker MS. just referred to. John Robynson, the first Headmaster, had the help of assistants in looking after the small children. Howes calls them "schoole-Maisters for the Petties A.B.C."; the "true and shorte declaration" preserves their name as given in the first Account-book, where they are called "Skolemasters for the petites," and where their first quarter's stipend, at the rate of "liii. s. iiii. d. yearly," is recorded to have been paid them in June, 1553. The popular agitator, who says that the Foundation has been abused for centuries and diverted from its first purpose, fixes upon this care for foundlings, and asks what the Hospital is doing now for the "petites." He sees from the admission figures that there is a falling off in the number of foundlings from the first year of which we have full details, viz. A.D. 1556, onwards, and he forgets, first, that the development of Poor Law and of Parish Schools made such work on the part of Christ's Hospital more and more superfluous; and he will

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not see, secondly, that if the system had been continued it could only have been abused. The world is three centuries and a half older since then, but still there are hundreds of cases yearly in every poor quarter of London, where parents neglect their children and take any and every means of ridding themselves of them. So, without doubt, it was then. Babies were brought to the Lodge gate or left inside in the cloisters, until the place where they wanted to dwell was too strait for them, and the Governors had to refuse to receive any more. But an infant "about thage of half a yere" could not convey itself home for two very good reasons, one of which was that it had no home to go to. Lying outside the gate of Christ's Hospital, it was in the parish of Christ Church, and became chargeable to the Parishioners. They were doubtless as good-hearted folks then as their successors are now, but they soon found the foundling system something beyond a joke, and the Governors were bound to reconsider their position in the matter, and to see, regardless of the modern agitator, that their greatest usefulness would not lie that way.

But the agitator, to be consistent, must go further. There were other ways in which the Christ's Hospital of the first days put itself at the public service, but which it has had to leave to others to pursue. The first of these concerned the lepers and is of historical aptness. For, as everyone knows, S. Francis and his followers, who were our predecessors in this place, paid great heed to the lepers, and there are relics up and down the country of Lazar-houses* that they built and served. Therefore it was meet and right that the Governors should take the duty upon them. On the 24th of September, 1552, when the buildings were not yet ready for occupation, an order of the Court was passed for the payment of six shillings and eightpence a month for each poor person sent to "the vi Lazerhowses adioyninge to the Citie for the herbouringe of the poore." Each house had its keeper and each received five shillings a quarter, and the Account Book shows that £60 was expended in this way in A.D. 1553.

* *e.g.* at Bury St. Edmunds, Dunwich, etc.



THE LODGE, CHRIST CHURCH PASSAGE

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH LENT BY THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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Four years later, in the same month of September, there was "paid to the Lazars the sayde monethe," £12 15s. 4d., which was more than twice the cost for one month in 1553. Therefore it was quite natural that in August, 1557, the Court should decide to leave these Lazar payments to the proper authority; henceforth they must come "out of the reuenues" of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

In the second place it is clear that the term Hospital was deemed by Governors and sufferers alike to be of elastic interpretation. A great City merchant, whose premises are a few yards' distance from Newgate Street, asked me some years ago what I was doing, and I was proud to be able to answer that I was working at Christ's Hospital. But it was somewhat humiliating to find him continuing the conversation on the assumption that I must be a medical student. Yet in the sixteenth century he might have found reasons for his mistake. Christ's Hospital to-day has one medical officer and thirty masters, but in 1553 there were two surgeons as well as a not inadequate staff of masters. And the Court Book shows that the Governors were willing to give all manner of medical assistance. In 1559 a boy, "being almost blynde, at the sute of his mother was admitted." Another out of St. Sepulchre's parish, "beinge lame on one legge, was admitted for surgerye," and the parents undertook to have him home as soon as he was well. A young woman came into the City "verie sickly," in A.D. 1571, and, in consideration of her weakness, "it is agred that she shall remain in the sick ward for a tyme." Even when people had already enjoyed the benefit of education in the Hospital, they sometimes returned to it for various reasons; for example, one William Jackson, who had been apprenticed by the Governors to "a packthred maker in Barmondsaie." He was seized in 1579 with "the falling sycknes," and was in consequence "taken again in to this howse." Add to this that there was a regular system of outdoor relief to the sick. Thus, a woman named "Jone Cole," sometime "of Calice," but now in the Vintry, receives half a crown "toward the healinge of hir childes arme named Tobias beinge broken." A butcher

in Long Lane receives "duriinge his sicknes iiii d weklye." Nor was it bodily ailments only with which the Foundation concerned itself. In 1571 Katherine Moliner, of St. Mildred's, Bread Street, who is described sufficiently as "an Idell p[er]sone," is admitted to the House for a month "to exersies hir self," and we may hope that the parish collector, when according to promise he removed her at the end of that time, was able to notice some improvement in her manners. Lastly, when it was not found possible to admit cases, the Governors were ready not only to pay for their keep but to provide them with raiment; thus a householder in "pater noster Row," who already receives "vi d wekly" towards the "finding" of a poor boy, is granted "a Jerkyn and a paire of Slopps of graie frese and a paire of hose and sheues" for the boy's use.

Now no one can contemplate these manifold activities without seeing in them an attempt to ease the present distress, wherever it might pinch, without making any resolution to do so in perpetuity. The Franciscans had done as much, and more, while their day lasted; and as long as they had the means, the Franciscans' successors were ready to do good unto all men. But from the beginning they were determined to proceed upon a definite system, expecting each charitable foundation to stick to its proper work. The "Order" of 1556 lays it down that no child shall be admitted without a written certificate from the Vestry of its parish, signed by the Aldermen and "vi of the auncients of the same parishe at the least," stating that the child "was there borne in lawful matrimonie." From this, as we have seen, there were constant deviations during the first thirty years, but the "Order" expressly allows them "where losse of life and perishing would presently follow." But these extraordinary admissions should not blind us to the definite purpose already accepted and acted on, that the Hospital should be a school for the poor by misfortune; that at the end of their term some should be "put forth to service" with freemen of the City, who would keep a fatherly eye on them; and that, on the other hand, such of the children "as be pregnant and very apt to

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learning be reserved and kept in the grammar school in hope of preferment to the universitie."

It may be well at this point to add extracts from the Hospital books upon these points. First comes a series of regulations tending to restrict the *clientèle*.

February 17th, 1607.—'It is also ordered that, according to the auncient orders of this house, from henceforth no *forreiners* childe, borne wthout the liberties of this Citty, nor any others though their parents bee free of this Cittie, being borne without the said Liberties, shalbee admitted children of this house, except it bee upon very great consideration.'

June 4th, 1624.—'It is further ordered at this Court that from henceforth noe Child or Children *under the age* of 4 years shalbee Admitted from any great Parsonage by letter or otherwise, except the same bee the child of a free man of London and borne wthin the said Citie.'

March 24th, 1640.—'It is ordered by the generall Consent of this Court that no Child or Children shall be admitted into this house at the suite of any parishe or person whatsoever, except it bee of the age of 3 *yrs or more*.'

March 14th, 1652.—'It was ordered by this co^rt y^t no children should be taken in but such as bee freemans children *nor any one that have one in already* wthout order of this co^rt.'

April 6th, 1655.—'And for ye tyme to come this Court Ordered that no Child shall be admitted. . . . *Lame or other ways infirme in ye body*, unless some speciall reasons be shewed for ye same.'

Finally, there is a much longer and more systematic Order of the Court, dated March 20th, 1673-4, which embodies all the above regulations, save where it still further narrows the limit of age:—

'3. That noe children be taken in under the age of *seaven years*.'

But this particular Order is also remarkable for its mention of two matters—then comparatively new, but now long familiar. One is the admission of children in accordance with the will of a Donor or Benefactor. The other is the

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annexe in the country, and the rule is worth quoting as it stands :—

‘That all children that hereafter shalbe admitted, if there be not roome in this Hosp^l to receive them, then shall be sent to nurse at Hartford or Ware, where there are Schoole Masters to teach and instruct them, and not permitted to stay in London with their parents or others, who may suffer the said Children to runn up and downe streetes in this Citty, dirty and nasty, to the great discredit of this Hospital.’

The instances already cited point to the admission of children being granted mainly at the suit and on the responsibility of the various City parishes, and this parochial right to “present” a child survived, as, for instance, in the case of my own parish and several others, till the present scheme came into operation. Thus two systems of admission operated side by side ; children came in at the request of a parish or at the request of a person. But, as time went on, the tendency was for the person to have more right to “present,” and the parish correspondingly less. This appears incidentally in a reference dated March 24th, 1640, which falls within a period of ten years (1636–46), during which admissions and resources were alike scarce, and the country was too full of political cares to have leisure or money for philanthropic purposes. “No child,” it says, “shall bee admitted into this house at the suit of any parish or person whatsoever, except it bee of the age of three years or more” ; and another of the same period gives the prevalent reason—“in respecte of the greate number already chargeable to the house and the want of meanes to maintain them.”

It was chiefly at the Restoration that the individual began to assert himself at the expense of the City parishes, and in 1678 the rule that the children admitted must be actually living within the City was abolished. The system of the time was roughly this. Every March a balance-sheet was presented, together with “the state of the house,” that is to say, the number of children calculated to be in the school at the approaching Easter. The Court then decided how many vacancies they could declare, and one hundred

may be taken as a representative figure. Thereupon the Court drew up a list of this sort. The Lord Mayor would have 2 presentations, the Aldermen and the Recorder 26; the Governors, whose names were taken alphabetically, 58; and benefactors, 14. It was their frequent custom to "oblige" the parish of Christ Church with a presentation, and sometimes (as in 1717, "in regard to his readiness to serve this House on all occasions") the Treasurer of St. Bartholomew's Hospital got a similar privilege. Presentations were also placed from time to time at the disposal of persons of distinction. Thus in 1702 the Earl of Rochester had been allowed to put in a boy, who was not qualified because "he is not fully seven yeares old and hath a brother already in the House"; but the Court overlooked this "in respect to that noble lord," and the Treasurer was sent to him to say that the Court "hath gratified his honour." The "brother already in the House" shortly afterwards eased the consciences of the Governors by running away. In the same way the Court in 1731, hearing that "a Presentation . . . would be very acceptable to the Right Honble. S^r Robert Walpole," unanimously agreed to "gratify" the great man by admitting a poor child in whom he was interested.

The nominations once given, certain rules had to be complied with, which, however, varied from time to time. Children must not be "crooked nor diseased," not "laime or otherwise blemished in their boddies or limes." They must be "wanting either a ffather or a mother," in which case (so says a regulation of 1723) "a certificate or affidavit of the Buryal of one of them shall be produced." Supposing that these essentials were complied with, we may see the subsequent proceedings in an order issued to the Aldermen in 1674: "When your Worp. hath made choice of such a child, pray lett either the ffather, mother, or friend thereof come to the Compting House of Christ's Hospitall with note and your Worp's name subscribed thereunto on Monday and Tuesday the 6th & 7th days of Aprill 1674, & the ffather mother or friend thereof shall know the certaine time when the said child shall be received into the care and charge of the said

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Hospitall." Of course it sometimes happened that "the certaine time" was long in arriving. The number of inmates, as the Governors said to Charles II. in 1664, "doth either increase or decrease as GOD is pleased to move the hearts of good Christians to contribute towards their reliefe"; in other words, the Court might not be able to afford to admit an accepted child. Or the London School might be already crowded, because, as in 1720, there were "eighty children of age fitting to come out of the country," who would be preferred as being already on the foundation. In these circumstances, it was a not uncommon practice to arrange that qualified children, for whom there was as yet no room, should "remain with their friends upon the House pay untill further order."

It will suffice to add that the admission system of the seventeenth century contains in germ all that the Commissioners of 1837 found in existence. They arranged the children under three heads:—

- i. Those presented by privileged Governors (*i.e.* the President, the Treasurer, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen) and by other Governors in rotation as they stood on the list.
- ii. Those presented by Governors under occasional presentations.
- iii. Those presented by parishes, City guilds, or individuals under special gifts.

And so it continued till after many Commissions the Hospital came under the scheme of 1891, which must be considered in a separate chapter.



THE GIFFS CLOISTER

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH LENT BY THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

CHAPTER IV.

THE SCHOOL'S BUILDINGS

"Adieu, adieu ! ye much-loved cloisters pale !"—COLERIDGE.

THE casual visitor, anxious to include a look at Christ's Hospital in his inspection of the "antiquities" of London, is apt to find his visit of great interest, if it happens during term time, but is generally inclined to say that he missed the antiquities. The Newgate Street gateway shows him a fine Tudor building, suggestive of "King's" and of Eton, but a closer inspection reveals that the date of the opening of the Hall is 1829, and a look at the back of it is enough to convince him that the Tudors had no hand in it. He passes up Christ Church Passage and is rewarded with a glimpse of red-brick work that has no superior in the City, but he guesses that he is in front of a building erected under the later Stuarts. He enters the Lodge and finds himself in a quadrangle, whose only suggestion of antiquity is its shape, and his *cicerone* draws his attention to the south side of the square, which consists of a cloister, whose level is some feet lower than the rest. It is lined with brick and faced with brick, but between the outer and the inner lining he can see that there is the stonework of pointed arches. Its roof on close examination proves a grievous fraud. It is known as "The Giffs," a name which no one would hesitate to derive from the initials of "Grey ffrriers," if it were not that "Blues" of forty or fifty years back persist in maintaining that the eponymous hero of the cloister is one G. I. Fuller, who in their time had been beadle for many years at the Christ Church lodge. But it has been elsewhere explained that the plot of ground at the east end of the

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Cloister went for more than two centuries by the name of "The Grey Friars," and to this plot the cloister gave access, thus obtaining the name of "the Grey Friars Cloister," which any schoolboy would shorten into "the G. Fs.," and so to "the Giffs." Fuller's initials or Fuller's colloquialisms are a poor modern substitute for an explanation that takes us back to the days of Richard Grafton, who, with others who rented houses within the grounds, must have used the cloister daily to get to his front door. That cloister, we must be content to know, is all that is really old in Christ's Hospital, for it can probably number six centuries, and the only contemporary structures in the immediate neighbourhood are the hidden piers of masonry upon which Christ Church rises, one of which was disclosed in the recent construction of the station for the Central London Railway.

But, if the visitor will be content to imagine himself three centuries and a half away, it is not hard to convince him that the present buildings are the obvious successors of those which in Edward VI.'s time were handed over to the Governors for the use of the poor children of the City. A glance at a very ancient plan of the Grey Friars, which is kept in the Counting House, will show him that he must eliminate everything north of the Middle Cloister, at least for the time being. The original site was roughly A-shaped, with its apex westward opposite St. Sepulchre's Church, and its base eastward, along what is now King Edward Street, and was then Foul or Stinking Lane. The southern arm of the angle consisted almost entirely of the Church of the Grey Friars, 300 feet in length; the northern arm was formed by the City Wall. In order to show how completely the original site was shut in on the north, with none of the ground on which the Writing School, the Warden's Lodge, and the Grammar School now stand, it is only necessary to remember that immediately on the north side of the City Wall ran the Town Ditch. In 1552 it was merely an open sewer, and it is easy to imagine the general unsavouriness of this triangle whose base was Stinking Lane, whose south side was the Shambles, and whose north side was the

open *cloaca* of the City. It required no great flight of genius to decide that the Ditch must be covered, if the children were to be kept alive, and this was done at the expense of John Calthrop,* citizen and draper, from Aldersgate to Newgate, and part of this surface over the Town Ditch was leased to the Hospital by the Corporation in 1553 at a "peppercorn" of twelve pence a year. Of the date at which the City Wall was levelled I have found no record, but its course through the Hospital is easily determinable. A portion of it lies under the newest buildings of the General Post Office; it passed under the Lodge at the Ditch gates, slanted south-westward, so as to run under or just to the north of the great tower which now gives entrance to the Writing School, and so traversed the "Hall-Play" past the Gymnasium, till it met the "New Gate," at the end of Newgate Street. When once it was levelled, the Hospital was free to stretch its limbs northward, and the land which the school has so long occupied between the Wall and the confines of St. Bartholomew's Hospital is only freehold in so far as it is held at a rental of £10 on two leases from the Corporation which expire in A.D. 2691—which is sufficient for all practical purposes.

But it was well on in the seventeenth century before this northern portion was occupied for school purposes. Houses were built there, whose rents swelled the revenues, and this was done from the very beginning. Thus it was agreed on the last of January, 1558, that "thalf of the greate garden within the Towne Ditch shulde be let out for money and thother half to be reserved to thuse of this house." Probably the first use made of the Ditch was for the erection of the Treasurer's house (subsequently destroyed in the Fire). This project was started in 1648, and it was understood that the Committee should not "be tied to the just sum of £450"; but before it was finished in June, 1649, the builder reported that he had spent £783, and was afraid of imprisonment if he did not see his money at once. The Committee made a proposal to him for the payment of a certain sum on condition that there was "a fynall end of y^e business" and

* One of "The Thirty" (p. 23).

"noe more controversie or question." It was not the last case in the school's history of "estimates" being exceeded.

Across the Ditch from south to north ran a passage, still represented by a closed door, between the school and "Barts," and it was natural that "beggars and vagrants" should imagine that between the two charitable foundations they stood some chance of relief; so that in 1637 it was necessary to give special instructions to our beadles to expel them "as far as our part extends." In the other direction, from east to west, the Ditch was traversed by the "Long Walk," which is sometimes described in the Minutes as "the Common Way or passage." Whatever the course it pursued after entering the Little Britain gates, it was the main artery of traffic within the Hospital, and it also communicated with St. Bartholomew's; indeed the Christ Church Vestry-book describes it as "y^e walke between" the two hospitals. Most of the shops, elsewhere referred to, fronted on the Long Walk, and special mention is made in 1738 of a "little shop near the Writing School," and near the passage leading to "Barts." It had been leased to a milliner at £15 a year, but was then let to another of the same trade who offered to pay £21. These shopkeepers and other inhabitants were of course affected by any change of regulation in the Hospital. For instance, in 1713 there was "a Peticon of divers persons inhabitants in the Long walk part of Little Britain and St. Barthews Cloysters touching the early shutting of the severall gates of this Hospitall to the prejudice of their Trade." The Committee "thought fit to reject the same," but, as there was then no carriage-way between Butcher Hall Lane and Little Britain, it may be owned that the petitioners had some cause of complaint. The impression one has of the Ditch and its immediate surroundings two centuries ago is that they entered very little into the life of the school, as such, though they were part of its property.

The real scene of school-life must have been in the Cloisters, the "Garden" embraced by them, and in the then thickly covered ground now represented by the Hall Play. In the "Garden," as now, was the pump, but not, as now, in

the centre. Its actual position was almost in "Sixes" corner. It is mentioned in 1646 that one of the favourite places for the "laying" of foundlings was "above y^e well-yard staires in y^e passage goeing into y^e seuerall wards," which implies that there was a "Sixes" staircase in that corner, if not on the exact site of the present one. Certainly the great dormitory of the Friars ran along the east side of the cloisters, and that side has had "wards" above it practically for over seven centuries. The habitation of the "Mayden children" was on the south side of the quadrangle, over the "Giffs" cloister, and consisted of what the Franciscans had called their "lesser dortor." In the same neighbourhood were the Wardrobe, the Matron's House, and the "cutting-room." The latter is specially mentioned in an order of July 1715 that, "whereas the doore of the Girles School going up to Christ Church gate is by experience found to be very ill convenient," it is to be "stoped up" and a new one made into the school through "the cutting-room." The entry does not give us any very definite topographical help, but it is easy to guess that the girls were at times employed in the room. The present "shoe-room" and the architect's offices were no doubt used as lodgings for assistant masters or beadles, there being in earlier days no vast social distinction between the two classes. In 1762 Robert Court, a junior clerk in the Counting House, was allotted "the Room in the Cloyster" at that time occupied by the Apothecary, who had no objection to vacating it on being offered "a convenient Appartment" in the Infirmary. But three years later Court complained "that the Room he now enjoys in the Cloysters for want of a constant Fire which he cannot keep on account of his attendance at the office being exceedingly damp, is very injurious to his health"; whereupon they assigned him "the small house" lately occupied by the Under Girls' School Mistress. Taking the "Giffs" as representative of the other three Cloisters, we may conclude that each of them gave access to buildings on the ground floor, though little is on record about these till a committee was specially appointed to deal with the ruinous state of the

cloisters in 1714. Two years later this body gave orders, "upon view of the severall doors coming into the Cloysters," that "these following be continued and raised (*viz*) the Hall Door, the Grammar School door, the Wardrobe Door, the Door of the Girles School, Mr. Crews and Mr. Dittons Doors." Of these the Wardrobe and Girls' School doors gave on to the "Giffs," the Hall and probably the Grammar School on to the west cloister. The whereabouts of Mr. Crew, the Grammar School usher, and Mr. Ditton, the master of Mr. Stone's Mathematical boys, must be left to the imagination. The only certainty about the matter is that no master was allowed to live in an apartment that communicated with his class-room or school. The Committee were much too knowing for that.

Before leaving the cloisters, it will be well to notice that their ruinous condition is again and again referred to in the records. One such reference in 1664 will be found in our account of the Fire. The first sub-committee to deal with the problem was appointed in 1669, being "desired to view the Arches in the Cloysters which are in very great danger of falling and to secure them as they shall be advised." "Esq Morris" (the friend of Sir Robert Clayton), whose portrait hangs in the Court Room, gave £100 for this purpose in 1670; but apparently the earnest appeal of Erasmus Smith that attention should be given to the schools rather than the cloisters caused little to be done at this time. We will return to him later, and keep now to the cloisters. In 1705 they were again inspected by Sir Anthony Deane, and "he with the workmen having searched the floor over the North Cloister" was of opinion that "if the walls were scrued up with chaines of iron to prevent them from swelling out, the said walls, with the building over them, may stand many yeares." The reason for special care of the North Cloister was that the building over it was Whittington's Library, then nearly three centuries old, though, from the scanty reference to anything in the way of a Library in the Minutes, I doubt whether it still served its original purpose; certainly in Trollope's day it had long been used to provide dormitories.



AN ARCH IN THE GIFFS CLOISTER

Then they looked at the East Cloister by the Counting House, and recommended that the "old ward" (*i.e.* the Greater Dortor of the Franciscans) should be "taken down as low as that was which is now the Girles ward, or as farr as shall be found needfull, And then the Arches to be made secure for bearing the walls"; the new ward to be built over this cloister was to be "of about fourteen foot storey or as high as conveniently may be without prejudice to the lights behind." The wall in question received in 1707 an inscription to the effect that it was "rebuilt at the sole charge of S^r ffancis Child sometime Lord Maior and now President of this Hospitall. Anno Dom. 1705." Again in 1708 it was under notice that "the Cloysters are in a very ruinous and bad condition, some part being almost ready to drop down," and a public subscription was invited to meet the expense. But more came out of the efforts of the special committee, already referred to, of 1714. They repaired "the foundations of ffive buttresses on the North side and the Caps of all the buttresses on that side." Two years later they seem to have brought all the cloisters to the appearance which the "Giffs" now presents. There were "iron Ralls to be set up round the cloysters." The pavements were all relaid, "to begin with the East Cloyster from the Church gate to the passage leading up by the Pump into the Town Ditch." The arches were all "reduced," and in each arch "there shall be nine Iron barrs to be sett Arras fashion, each barr to be an inch thick and ffive foot high, the Rail barr not to exceed half an inch in thickness and two inches and a half in breadth." This is of course the railing as so long familiar in the "Giffs." In 1716, "the middle Arch in the Passage comeing in at the Gray ffryars [*i.e.* the "Hall-Play"] gate to the Cloysters" was "pulled down and a girder of Timber put up in its stead"; this would mean the arch at the west end of the "Giffs" and would be the scene of most of the passenger traffic from Newgate to Little Britain.

It has been said elsewhere that, though the Great Cloister was spared by the Fire, the accommodation in the School was greatly reduced, especially eastward of the East Cloister.

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It was there that the rebuilding began. In 1668 there was a resolution passed "that all the old walls att the East End of this Hospital, where the Treasurer's House, the Compting House, the Clerke's House, and the other houses stood, should be taken down forthwith and the ground cleared . . . that the compting house should be on the ground floor, and the Court Roome over itt, which are to be in length 44 foote and in breadth 29 foote. The Treasurer's house to be upon parte of the ground on which it formerly stood. . . . That all the officers houses should be built in one range togeather." The work was begun the same summer,* and in the following January they were in a position to estimate the cost of the Counting House, Court Room, and Staircase at £901 3s. 2d., including £20 for a "marble mantle and marble base" for the Court Room fireplace. Whether the Court Room then took on all its present beautiful appearance inside I am unable to say; certainly some of it may well be due to "a gentleman who was well disposed to this House," and who in 1727 had "communicated his intention of beautifieing the Court Roome in a manner as he thought might be agreeable to the Governors."

But there were some friends of the Foundation, and a certain Mr. Erasmus Smith was foremost among them, who felt that the Counting House, spite of all the charitable work that it conducted for the good of all parts of the country, was still not the real object for which the School existed. His generous design for the rebuilding of the Hospital was first mentioned in November 1670, and in the November following he gave £500 towards the same object; but it is not till his letter of October 1672 that we are able to see what he really meant. "The great intendment of this happy foundacon"—so he wrote to the Governors—"was not onely the sustaining poore children with food and raiment, but more principally theire discipline and education in piety and good literature, such as their indigent condicon would not afford them at home and elsewhere. . . . These

* Trollope's date, 1680 (p. 341), is thus wrong. The Counting-House was enlarged in 1788.

children are scattered wee scarce knew where to the number of 140, and have noe other benefitt of this great charyty but to be kept alive, which the comon charity of each Parish would have done if this Hospitall had never been founded. Their fittest age and season for Educacon for ought wee know is likely hereby to be lost, or, which is worse, leavened with all manner of rudeness and roguery by those with whom they are suffered to converse. This must needs be scandalous and derogate much from the care and credit of our government. Neither can itt be hid from any man beholding the buildings erected in this Hospitall since the unhappy fire not onely supplying the necessity but the commodiousness of our meanest servants, and yett the Habitacons of these Children (who are indeed the reall proprietors of this Revenew and Charity) suffered by us to lie neglected in Rubbish and Ashes." This strong appeal and rather serious indictment, to which no reply was forthcoming, seems to have affected the meeting at which it was read. Erasmus Smith added £50 to his previous gifts, and £200 was promised in the room, the estimated requirement being over £600.

But nevertheless it is somewhat difficult to keep the various benevolent undertakings of Erasmus Smith distinct the one from the other, and it is characteristic of the way in which the history of Christ's Hospital has so far been written that the sole mention of him in "Trollope" is a note on his picture in the Court Room,—“a melancholy-looking portrait by a very moderate artist.” It will perhaps give some idea of the activity of this “melancholy-looking” benefactor to remember that before he wrote the above letter he had rebuilt a “school,” which is not specified, but was probably intended to serve all purposes except those of Mathematics. Trollope says it was badly built of old materials. Erasmus Smith's offer was to rebuild the school if the Hospital would provide the timber from its estates, and in that case he reckoned it would cost him £500. The site chosen was at the east end of the Hall-Play, parallel and near to the present French School. Begun in the

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spring of 1671, it was finished in February 1672, when "all the children of this Hospitall went into the Schoole erected by Erasmus Smith Esq', where an oration was spoken in the Gramar Schoole by Luke Timberlake a Child of this Hospitall before Sir John ffredrick K^{nt} and President." It would appear that, in spite of the benefactor's good intentions, the new school was badly built, and in 1776 was further weakened by the erection over it of a new ward and a drawing-school; so about 1790 the whole had to be abandoned, and another erected at the expense of another "Smith," John by name, pretty much on the site of the present Grammar School in the Ditch. I know of no print or drawing which preserves the outward appearance of Erasmus Smith's building, and the lack is the more to be regretted; for here, not in John Smith's building, Coleridge "enjoyed the inestimable advantage of a very sensible, though at the same time a very severe master, the Reverend James Bowyer"; here Charles Lamb learned nothing because his master, Matthew Feilde, "was engaged in gay parties, or with his courtly bow at some episcopal levee, when he should have been attending on us"; and here Leigh Hunt's "grammar seemed always to open at the same place," Feilde "languidly bearing his cane as if it were a lily, and hearing our eternal *Dominuses* and *As in praesenti's* with an air of ineffable endurance." It is of interest to note that Erasmus Smith wished his School "on the Sabbath day to be sett apart for publick worship," but was told this would contravene His Majesty's Regulations.

This done, Erasmus Smith pressed forward the matter of more accommodation for children boarded out in the country. In June 1673 the Committee received from him a proposal which was calculated still further to crowd the immediate neighbourhood of the Garden. He told them he was "further willing to build . . . two wards upon ye piece of void ground that lyes before the Compting House, Provided that the Hospital find rough Timber for the hole worke, and that the said wards be bedded round at the



THE GARDEN AND THE GRECIANS' CLOISTER

cost and charges of the Governors." He also stipulated that they should hereafter consider whether their revenues will permit them to erect two wards "upon part of the Towne Ditch adjoining to London Wall." I do not know if the last phrase is to be taken as implying that any part of the City Wall was still standing, but the entry shows the effect Erasmus Smith had upon the future configuration of the Hospital, for the wards in the Town Ditch on "ground that lyes before the Compting House" are unquestionably represented by Sixes, Sevens, and Eights, which continue the line of the Greater Dortor. This particular project of Mr. Erasmus Smith was estimated to cost £489 7s. 6d. The block over the east cloister, as already stated, was rebuilt by Sir Francis Child in 1705.

Before we leave the Garden two other contemporary names deserve grateful mention. The south side was rebuilt at the cost of Sir Robert Clayton, sometime Lord Mayor, under the guidance of Sir Christopher Wren, partly upon the "Giffs" and partly on land appropriated from the parish of Christ Church, by the direction of Wren as Surveyor-General, and with the connivance of the Bishop of London and the Court of Aldermen. Trollope has a story, of which I find no trace in the records, that Clayton desired to remain "anonymous" in the matter, and that his partner, Mr. Daniel Morris, promised to bear half the cost (£5,000), but was prevented by death from so doing. The anonymity of this worthy benefactor is very probable, and the inscription which, as I write, has just been removed to Horsham leaves no doubt as to his bearing the cost of "most Part of this Fabrick. Anno Dom. 1682." It was probably in the same modest manner that Sir John Frederick, another Lord Mayor, who became President of the Hospital in 1662, first mooted his design for rebuilding the great Hall on the west side of the Garden; for it is recorded in February 1671 that "a worthy person that desires not to be knowne" had offered to "cover the hall." His idea, no doubt, was that the ravages of the Fire could be repaired; but this proved to be impossible, and the Refectory was demolished down to the roof of the

cloister. The new Hall, which was built about 1680 at the sole cost of Sir John Frederick, lasted till the third decade of the nineteenth century. Its appearance, both inside and out, is very familiar. Its roof carried two lanterns; it had five large windows on each side, those on the west being blocked up in order to provide space for Verrio's huge canvas portraying King Charles II. in the act of delivering the charter to the Royal Mathematical School—a picture painted at the instigation of Mr. Secretary Pepys. Under it were the pulpit and a small gallery let into the wall for choir boys. The tables for the wards were in three long rows, and in a gallery at the north end was the organ, presented by a Governor named Skelton, and doctored with much assiduity by the great Renatus Harris. Trollope is responsible for the statement, which I have failed to verify, that it cost Sir John the sum of £5,000. Certainly the worthy President, who, according to "Stow," was a scion of the House, was treated to every kind of flattery and laudation, a specimen of which appears in the account of Speech Day. He occupied the Presidential chair for a longer period than has fallen to the lot of any other except its present royal occupant, the Duke of Cambridge.

So much for the buildings on the four sides of the Garden; but a word must be said of other uses to which both the Cloisters and the centre of the quadrangle were put. The original burial-ground of the Hospital lay with a grim irony in the neighbourhood of the Infirmary, not of course the present building nor its predecessor mentioned by Trollope as built in 1720 [instead of 1732], but an earlier building nearer to the present Bath. Its exact position is fairly shown in an order of 1758 to "pull down the Smith's Shop and repair the Carpenter's Shop in the Church Yard behind the Writing School," a carpenter's shop being there to this day. In November, 1729, it was ordered that "a view be taken with workmen of the sickward and Church-yard belonging to this Hospital, it being apprehended that Burial of the Dead near the Foundation hath prejudiced the said building." This no doubt was the reason why in 1721

they had already begun to bury beneath the cloisters in specially prepared vaults. There is a reference in that year to "the vault under the new Room in the North Cloyster," which "shall be from henceforward used for a Buryall place for the children of this house." This "new Room" is elsewhere called "the new Parlour," and may have answered the purpose of what later generations called the Day Room; it is characteristic of the age that a vault should have been placed beneath it and that the cloister should have been known in consequence as the "Dead Cloi." But by 1740 other accommodation appears to have become necessary. For instructions were then given that "the vault in the Cloysters where the Children of this House are buried when full be closed up with brick and from thenceforward that such children as shall happen to Dye be buried in the Quadrange in the middle of the said Cloysters." Of course, for many years there has been no interment within the walls. Dr. Rice was buried there in 1853, and Mr. Trollope in 1863; but in old days the funerals of the "Blues" must have been quite gruesomely impressive. "The appearance of the youthful mourners," says the wordy Trollope, "moving with measured steps by torchlight, and pealing their sepulchral dirge along the sombre cloisters of the ancient priory, was irresistibly affecting; and the impressive burial service, succeeding to the notes of the anthem as it sunk sorrowfully on the lips of the children, riveted the spectator insensibly into a mood of serious and edifying reflection." But even in Trollope's time (1834) the "striking effect produced by the funereal glare of the torches" was a thing of the past, and the ceremony took place in the daytime.

The "Garden" ceased to deserve its name in 1779, when it was arranged to "open the Grass Plot in the Cloysters and pave it as a Play-Place for the Children" at a cost of £382.

The present archway from the Garden to the Hall-Play is the successor of a much narrower passage which used to be called "the Creek." It gave access to the Old Grammar School and a multitude of miscellaneous buildings in the western territory of the Hospital. Here the Franciscans

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had their Little Cloister, with its Infirmary and dole-house (north and west side), its kitchen and hall (east side), its shaving-house and guest-house (south side). All these lay in the northern half of the space. To the south, nearer Newgate Street, were the Franciscan Bake-house and the Brew-house, which seem to have continued to be used as such by the Hospital. But clearly in this southern half there was a large space to which the "Giffs" one way and a gate in Newgate the other way gave general access, and which went by the name of the "Gray-Fryers," or more exactly "Gray-Fryers Court." The last phrase occurs in a note (dated August 27th, 1667) to the effect that "a tenant informed the Committee that Mr. Offley was digging a cellor under the great gate to the streete or passage that leads out of Newgate Markett into this Hospitall and the Gray Ffryers Court." Here in the days that followed the dissolution of the Franciscan Monastery, Richard Grafton, the "King's Printer" to Edward VI. and the first active Treasurer of Christ's Hospital, had his printing-press. Here, as in "the Towne Ditch," the Governors derived part of their income from the rents of houses let to private persons. Conspicuous among these was the family called Howes. To the *Contemporaneous Account* of John Howes we have already referred. He indeed had some official connexion with the Hospital as "renter and gatherer of legacies," a post which he doubtless owed to Richard Grafton. His son Edmund carried on and enlarged Stow's *Annales*. In 1637 the dwelling which this family occupied was re-let to Timothy Howes, and is described in the minute both as being in "Gray fryers Court" and as "situate at the west end of Christ Church" (or close to the present carpenter's shed). The name of this family is always written "Howe" in the registers of Christ Church, where it figures frequently in the latter half of the sixteenth century. At Lady Day 1647 two houses in "Gray Fryers Court" were let on lease, and another entry dated November 1674 says that "Dr. Moreton, Physitian, liveing in Gray fryers House had liberty to take downe part of a buttress belonging to Nurse Ambroses Ward

and the which is ready to fall, he making it good at his owne charges." But the tenants were not all merchants like Howes or professional men like this doctor. In 1700 John Austin, "a Siderman," was allowed to lease "the little shop and cellar in Gray fryars" for £3 5s. a year, "to tye which bargaine he gave 2s. 6d. to the poores box."

Nor did the Hospital give up the "Gray Fryars" wholly to tenants. One of the chief buildings that looked into it was the Mathematical School, erected about 1710 at the west end of the "Giffs," so that southward it faced the burial-ground of Christ Church. The early history of the "Mathemat," which on general questions of its management is, as will be seen elsewhere, very voluminous, is also very scanty as to its *locale*. The "King's Boys" must have been taught and lodged elsewhere for forty years before this school was built in the "Gray Fryars," and wherever they were they had not only class rooms but an observatory. No boys, says an entry of 1684, are to be allowed on "the Mathematicall ledts, unless he (the master) present there." Comparing this with another, dated 1674, to the effect that Mr. Leake, the first Mathematical Master, was to teach his forty "att the upper table in the Greate Hall until such time as the Schoole shall be fitted" for their reception, we may place the erection of their first *habitat* between the two dates. But the "Mathemats" of the eighteenth century, being looked upon as the most important part of the School, certainly enjoyed the most commodious of its buildings, though one that is said to have been built by Wren on an insecure foundation. It stood at the west end of Sir Robert Clayton's block. The ground floor, on a level with the "Giffs," is said by Trollope to have been used as a warehouse up to 1775; but this statement must be modified by an entry dated February 1730, which records an arrangement that "the Room under the Mathematicall School, formerly used as a Free School," should be made into a Grammar School room. Above this ground floor on the westward side was the classroom for the "King's Boys," a lofty apartment reaching to the roof of the building, on which they had their

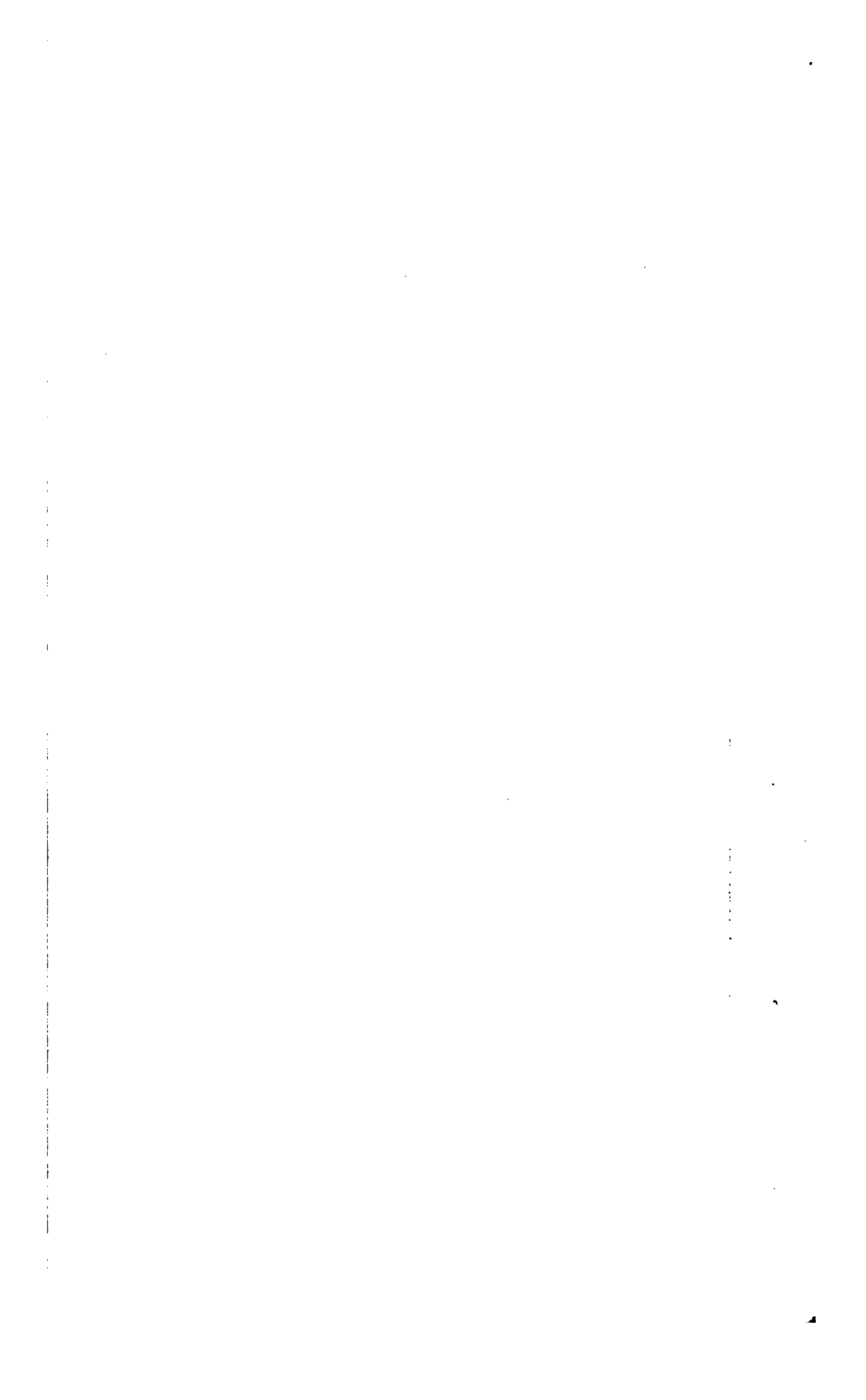
observatory. The "King's Ward" was to the south, overlooking the churchyard of the parish. It was arranged in 1735 that "the Boys of the King's Ward do from henceforth eat their meals in the Royal Mathematicall School at the seuerall Tables as they now stand," and it can easily be imagined that these "Mathemats" became a distinct caste, governed by their own social laws and with a general contempt for laws of any other origin. From this castle at the end of the "Giffs" they would swoop down to harry and to plunder the rest of the community till the system could be endured no longer.

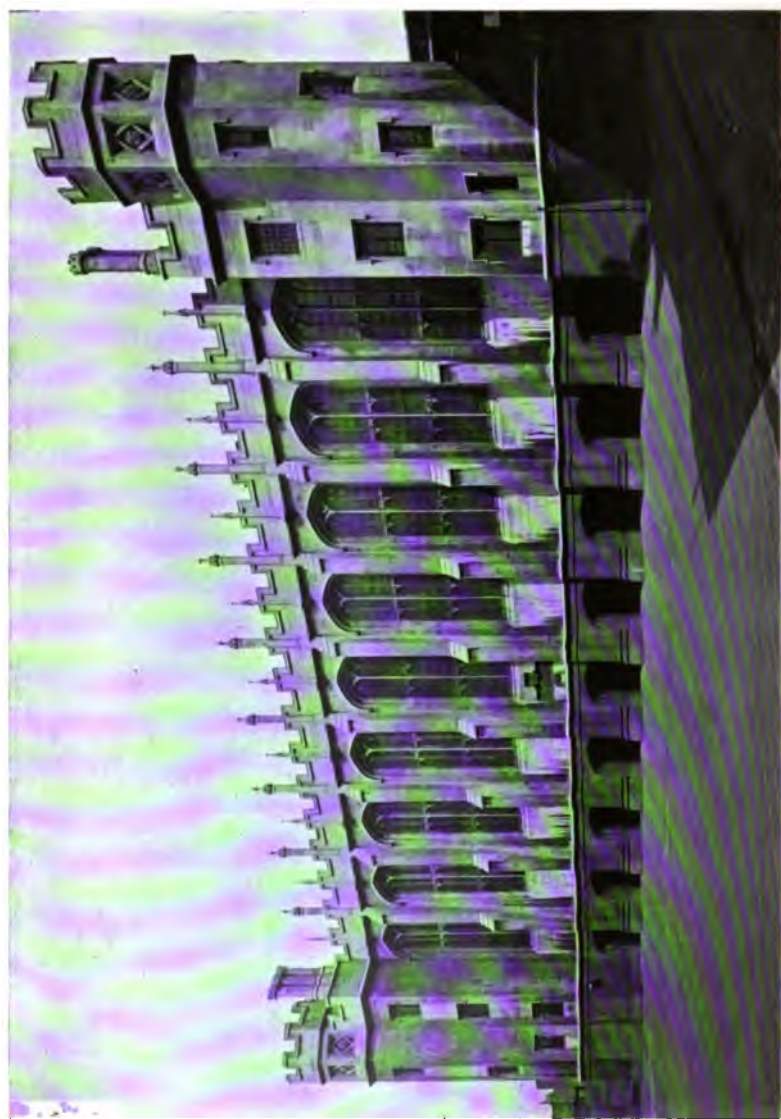
Before passing from the south side of the "Hall-Play" to the north, it will be well to note that during the greater part of the school's history its only access to Newgate Street was by a narrow entry called "Gray Fryers Gate." It was only in 1825, when preparation was being made for the erection of the present Hall, that the Governors, with the co-operation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, secured a large Newgate Street frontage and made the big gates. But nearly a century earlier there had been a great clearance to the extreme north of the "Hall-Play." In 1731 the Sick-Ward was reported to be "an old ruinous building and absolutely necessary to be pulled down and rebuilt, it being in great danger of Falling." There was a general desire to make it larger and "more comodious and ary," and this was done by pulling down "two old Tenements and part of the Stabling in the Stable Yard in Gray Fryers lying contiguous," and throwing their site into that of the Infirmary. In the meantime, while the building was in progress, the patients were thoughtfully accommodated in the "two old houses in the Stable Yard in Gray Fryers." The new Infirmary was partly constructed of the materials of some old houses pulled down in Butcher Hall Lane, and was insured in the "Hand in Hand" Office for £3,000, "or as much more as the said office will admit of." In 1733, as stated in the minutes, "the Intabliture Round the Piazzas of the New Sickward" was further adorned "with Triglipth and Bells."

The rest of the history of the Hall-Play and its buildings is soon told. Mr. Josiah Bacon, who made his will in 1703, left the residue of his estate to the Hospital; the bequest caused some litigation between the Hospital and the executor, and it was only in 1727 that the latter handed over to the Governors a sum of £22,450. With this they decided to remedy some of the overcrowding in the Hospital by erecting two new wards at the back of the Writing School and calling them "Bacon's Wards." This large expenditure of capital, like that of the sums given by Erasmus Smith for his Grammar School, was not destined to serve a permanent purpose. It is possible that, both of them being in the near neighbourhood of the Town Ditch, sufficient care had not been taken with the foundations. Anyhow, both went down in the course of a general clearance at the close of the eighteenth century. Between 1795 and 1835 every vestige of the Grey Friars Monastery disappeared, with the exception of the "Giffs." This great undertaking, which seems to have been forced on the Governors by the dilapidated condition of the buildings generally, embraces the terms of office of three Treasurers—William Gill, James Palmer, whose portrait by Lawrence looks benevolently up the Court Room, and Thomas Poynder, whose picture hangs appropriately in the Hall. It was found impossible to proceed without an Act of Parliament, and in 1795 "35 Geo. III. cap. civ." provided the necessary powers. The Act has its interesting features apart from its actual provisions. It shows that a portion of the "Hall-Play" was still called "Grey-Friars," and the Governors were empowered to take over "so much and such part of it," provided that they did not "shut up or render inconvenient the Way or Access from Newgate Street through Grey Friars Passage, and from thence turning immediately eastward over part of Grey Friars to Christ Church Yard." This pathway is clearly shown in the well-known print, dated 1775, of the old Mathematical School, but oddly enough, the churchyard gates are represented as closed. It mentions, as being buildings situate within the "Grey Friars," warehouses, stables, and "the Publick House called the

Harrow." It shows that the old burying ground behind the Writing School was used by prescriptive right as a resting-place for the parishioners of Christ Church and the prisoners from Newgate, as well as for the inhabitants of the Hospital. It speaks of the need for "the free Admission of Air to the Hospital," and for "the exercise of the children harboured therein." It mentions "the Long Walk" lying between the School and St. Bartholomew's, as well as a number of other "Foot Paths or Ways, which have been used by the Publick through the Courts, Yards, and Places." The immediate effect of the Act is obvious. The School got more breathing space, as buildings were cleared off the "Grey Friars" and the "Hall-Play" became the fine open space it is, right up to the Compter (now the Gymnasium) wall, and a similar clearance was made at the Little Britain gates. The churchyard behind the Writing School was to be added to the ground available for building purposes, and the parishioners and the prisoners were to be compensated for their loss of a cemetery by the substitution of a parcel of ground "upon which there are at present divers Buildings belonging to Christ's Hospital," situate in the parish of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate. It then fronted upon the narrow passage leading from Butcher Hall Lane to Little Britain, but is now one with the churchyard of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate; and in 1884 my predecessor at Christ Church, in conjunction with the parish vestry, gave up the interest of the parish in this Aldersgate ground, which now forms part of the "Postmen's Park."

But the important operations for which this Act gave permission were greater than the Hospital's finances could meet, without some special aid. Therefore a Building Fund was started in 1803—not the happiest of moments—and was kept open for over thirty years. It realised £44,000, and it is of interest to notice that the subscription list, which contains some famous names such as Sir Robert Peel and Shute Barrington, Prince Bishop of Durham, also witnesses to the generosity of "Old Blues." The "Amicable Society," founded in 1775, sent £250, and the gifts of other former Scholars of





THE WAT.

the House accounted for nearly £17,000 out of the total raised. In one way or another the Governing Body expended upon this great scheme of rebuilding over £150,000, between the passing of the enabling Act in 1795 and the year of the Queen's Accession, and it will be well to conclude this chapter by saying roughly how such a sum was spent. It may be added that the fund remained open for years after the work was finished, and finally realised almost enough to cover this large outlay.

To begin, as we are there already, with the "Hall-Play." Mr. Bacon's two wards were demolished, together with the miscellaneous buildings between the Sick Ward and the Newgate Street border. Along the north side of the "Hall-Play" at right angles to Sir John Frederick's hall, which fell with a great crash in the course of the excavations, rose Mr. Shaw's new Hall, which for seventy years has deceived so many into a belief that it is the work of the Royal builder of the chapels of Eton and "King's." The total cost of it was £61,000, much of which must have been due to difficulties caused by the Town Ditch. The stone was laid with much pomp and circumstance on April 28th, 1825, by the Duke of York, acting for King George IV., just as on October 23rd, 1897, and with the same trowel, the stone of the future Hall at West Horsham was laid by the (then) Prince of Wales on behalf of Queen Victoria. Trollope, who was present, and who ought to have been a reporter, records that the Bishop of London (Dr. Howley) offered prayer, and "after a moment's repose in meditation upon this solemn address to the Almighty, a shout of acclamation burst forth from the assembled throng, and the company separated." The Hall was opened on May 29th, 1829, and this time our eye-witness confesses to entertaining mingled feelings. "It is melancholy," he says, "to reflect upon the mortal changes which had taken place in the interval. The royal hand which gave the first auspicious impulse to the rising pile was cold in death." But on the other hand "every British bosom must have throbbed with inward pride in the contemplation of so vast a monument of national benevolence." The latter sensation may well

have been more sincere than the former, and certainly William Thompson, the Lord Mayor, who presided at the opening, had reason to be proud; for he was also President of the Hospital, and had been as generous to the Building Fund then as through his gold medals he has been an incentive to the scholars of the House ever since.

The erection of the present Infirmary had slightly preceded that of the Great Hall, for it was begun in 1820 on land acquired from St. Bartholomew's Hospital by an exchange highly advantageous to both parties. At the present moment there is a desire in which everyone joins, that a *modus* may be arranged by which St. Bartholomew's shall possess its own again. Having finished the Infirmary and the Hall, the Governors turned in 1829 to the buildings in a line with the old Hall at the east end of the "Hall-Play," where five wards (ix. to xiii.) with schools on the ground floor were put up at a cost of £14,000. Thence they passed to the north side of the Ditch, where the erection of two wards, the Grammar, the Mathematical and the Drawing Schools, was entrusted to "the respectable firm" of Messrs. Cubitt, the contract price being £12,492. And they completed their task by rebuilding Erasmus Smith's and Sir Francis Child's wards (now i. to viii.) on the eastern side of the Garden, demolishing the east cloister and replacing Whittington's Library and its "Dead Cloi" by the present Grecians' Cloister, at an outlay of £26,100.

This enormous quantity of bricks and stone and mortar was a costly luxury, and it was secured at the expense of some inevitable vandalism. But there is no question that the contractors earned their money by putting in good work. Few buildings of the size of Christ's Hospital have required less structural repairs in seventy years. To-day, when their demolition is imminent within a few months, they are all as sound as ever, and the "house-breaker" has his work cut out for him; so that the old question finds its inevitable vent: "To what purpose was this waste?"

CHAPTER V.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL

"I am grateful to Christ's Hospital . . . for its making me acquainted with the languages of Homer and Ovid."—LEIGH HUNT.

IT will be necessary to occupy a considerable space hereafter with an account of the Mathematical Foundation of King Charles II., and it will appear from that account that the Grammar School was not always able to hold its own against the King's School. But, with a longer history at its back, and with practically all the great names in the Hospital's roll of fame on its books, the Grammar School claims the priority, and up to the present it has always been a Grammar School Master who is, nominally or actually, the Head Master. In the first list of salaries, "John Robynson," the "Gramer Schoole Mayster," receives a higher wage than the "Clarke" or the "Chirurgione," and that is all that is known about him. It must even be left doubtful whether his reign lasted till the advent of Ralph Waddington in 1564. Trollope, who gives Waddington a cursory mention as "one of the early masters," preserves the epitaph upon his monument, from which it is to be gathered that he was "hujus Scholae per annos 48 Moderator dignissimus," and that he died at the age of eighty-four in 1614, two years after his retirement. He married, according to this epitaph, at the age of sixty-seven, and the only mention of him in the Christ Church registers deals with a marriage of two people, presumably his servants, and describes him as "Mr. Wadyngton M^r of the grammar school." We can see something of the nature of his work from an entry in the Court Book, July 19th, 1581. "The Grām Skole beinge viewed this daie ther is found as ffoloweth." In the "Vpp̄ Skole" there were

15 "Howse children," or foundationers, and 64 "Towne children," or paying pupils; in the "Lower Skole," 27 "Howse children" and 51 "Towne children." But the "Towne children" are in this entry separated into two classes. In the upper school "Mr Waddingtons allowaunce" is given as 25 pupils, and the other 39 are said to be "w^toute Bills," which presumably means that they were free scholars. It will be explained later on in this chapter that throughout the history of the Hospital till within living memory masters were allowed to eke out their income by taking private pupils, who joined their classes and became as much a part of the school as day-boys can. "Waddington's allowaunce" of twenty-five would not have satisfied Shadrach Helmes (1662-78), who had eighty. But the permission thus granted to Waddington made him a teacher of considerable importance in the City, and, if we only had a list of his day-boys, it might be possible to claim that the benefits of Christ's Hospital were extended for a small consideration to some who are now the honoured names of "the stately times of great Elizabeth."* Indeed, my friend Mr. A. W. Lockhart, the present Steward of the Hospital, whose accurate knowledge of the school and its sons is without rival, has suggested a theory of some interest. He has observed in Dr. Venn's list of the members of Caius College that between 1574 and 1590 several students were admitted pensioners or scholars, who are described as having been taught at "Grey Friars'" School, others "at school under Mr. Waddington," one "at the Grey Friars' School under Mr. Waddington," one "at Blackfriars' School under Mr. Waddington," and one "at Christ's Hospital under Mr. Waddington." The last named entered Caius in 1589, and he is the first case in which the proper name of the foundation is given in the list. The majority of the names (five out of seven) are, however, not to be found in the lists of Christ's Hospital, and Mr. Lockhart has therefore suggested that Waddington really had two schools, the Grammar School consisting of the "House Children," and the "Grey Friars'

* It is certain that Warren Hastings was prepared for "John Company's" service by our Writing Master, Mr. Thomas Smith, and attended Christ's Hospital as a day-boy in 1749.

School" containing the "Towne Children," the latter being so named to keep up the memory of a school which had been maintained in the monastery.

The notion is attractive, but the proof is not yet forthcoming. To begin with, the monastic educational establishment, though likely enough, rests only on the foundation of a pious opinion, by which we hope that the Franciscans, being a learned order, did not keep all their learning to themselves, and no instance has been adduced of a mention of "Grey Friars' School" in the Caius list during the time when the Friars were in possession. The passage in Stow on which Mr. Lockhart also relies ("Again, in the year 1553, after the erection of Christ's Hospital . . . a School was also ordained there at the citizens' charges") is simply a testimony to Stow's accuracy, not to the existence of a separate "Grey Friars' School." For the Grammar School was not the first necessity, nor any other school, but rather the proper care of helpless children. The masters, as stated elsewhere, drew the salary in respect of their first quarter's work on Midsummer Day 1553. Stow is therefore speaking of the ordinary instruction, not of any school within the school. It is a more serious objection that the Hospital's records do not offer any confirmation of the theory, though the name "Grey Friars," as attached to part of the premises, was in familiar use till the end of the eighteenth century. At the very time that the Caius list contains the phrase "Grey Friars' School," the Court Book gives its account of the "view" of "the Grām Skole," already referred to, without giving the slightest hint of the employment of the two names. It seems therefore obvious that the mistake* must be attributed to the Caius dons, who, as one instance shows, were not too sure whether to write "Grey Friars" or "Black Friars," and came in process of time to realise that they were dealing with Christ's Hospital, whether their pensioners were day-boys or on the foundation. Nor is there, unfortunately, any similar list in regard to any other college. Lastly, there is nothing to bear out the idea in Waddington's

* A similar mistake still prevails in the expressions "Christ Church boys" and "Christ Church Hospital."

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epitaph, which Trollope has preserved, and which does not err on the side of omissions :—

“ Angligenæ hunc peperit Londinum gloria gentis
Ætona huic artis semina prima dedit,
Granta tulit segetem fructumque tumescere fecit,
Londini messes *orphana turba* tulit.”

Considering the great length of his reign over the Grammar School, the references to Waddington in the records are very few. He asks for “bokes for the children,” as Catechist, and it is arranged that “children vnder M^r Wadingtons pte,” shall write out the Sunday and Paul’s Cross sermons. And once he got into serious trouble with the Court. One of his pupils, Roger Smith (or Smyth), who had been sent to the University of Cambridge by the Haberdashers’ Company in 1578, and whose name appears in Dr. Venn’s list of Caians, was reported in 1581 to have “ronne awaie from Cambridge synce christmas last,” and to have been at the Hospital with Mr. Waddington “aboute a monthe or v weeks sithens, who never disclosed the same to the gounors.” There were also other charges against him, as, for instance, that he “did verie uncharytable stryke the vsher in the skole,” with the result that he at once received notice “to dep̄t oute of his offyce, and to geve place to some other ther to be placid.” However, both his troubles blew over within a few months. “Touchinge the contrauersie wch hathe long tyme conty-nued” between master and usher, both the parties “in p̄sence of this coorte haue ben verie earnystlie moved vnto quietnes and friendlye loue vnfained, as becometh one chrystyan to another,” they have each “forgeven the other, and for testimonie thereof they haue closed either of their hande in other, very frendly.” As for Roger Smith, he returned dutifully to Cambridge, where three years later he proved his earnestness by a representation that he was “wantynge relief and chefely to by nedeful Boks for his studie.” It may be noted that, though he was preferred to the University by the Haberdashers’ Company, the Governors considered that they had a right to control his attendance at Cambridge, and it may be taken for certain that they gave

him more substantial support than "Boks for his studie." Yet he is described in the Caius list as educated at Blackfriars School under Mr. Waddington.

The latter, who went blind in 1594, and was thenceforth practically incapacitated, resigned in 1612, and was succeeded as Upper Grammar Master by Thomas Haynes, or Hayne, who had taken the place of the usher whom Waddington did "verie uncharytable strike." Anthony à Wood (*Ath. Oxon.*, vol. ii. p. 42) says that he was born at Thurciston, near Leicester, and entered at Lincoln College, Oxford, where "he obtained great knowledge in Philosophy, and the more for this reason, that he was taken off from various Recreations and Rambles by a lameness in his Legs from his Cradle." He was "a noted Critick, and excellent Linguist and a solid Divine, beloved of Learned men, and particularly respected by Selden." His published works, of which Anthony à Wood gives a list, were apparently written after he left the Hospital, but he was buried in Christ Church in 1645, if the same authority can be trusted. The parish registers of the period did not survive the Great Fire. To judge by the Hospital's records, Hayne's régime was quite uneventful. Nothing is stated about him save that he could not for some nine years get into the Upper Grammar Master's residence, because Mrs. Waddington was allowed to stay on there till her death, and that he received in 1628 a reward of £6 13s. 4d. in respect of his "painfull service," and "by reason of divers weakneses which hee ffindeth to growe upon him through his constant paine therin."

On his resignation in 1630, there were two candidates for the post, and the Court Book gives an interesting view of an election to a Head Mastership, so to call it for the moment. The two candidates were "M^r John Vicars, Usher of the said Schoole for 19 or 20 yeares past," and "one M^r Thomas Salter, M^r of Arts of Magdalen Colledge in Oxford," and the proceedings were as follows:—

'Theire peticons being both read the Court intreated M^r Doctor Price [probably Sampson Price, Vicar of Christ Church], M^r Thomas Salisbury, and M^r Launce, Divines, to

give them assistance in the choice of a sufficient schoolmaster to the place. But M^r Doctor Price refused upon some Remonstrances made openly in the Court [They may have distrusted this "Mawl of Hereticks."] and desired to bee spared in that Act. Then the other two Divines . . . were intreated to that purpose, and to withdrawe apart into the Inner Roome, there to make some prooffe of the said M^r Vicars his sufficiency for the discharge of the said place. Whereupon the said two Divines (according to the trust to them committed) went and made knowne to M^r Vicars the mynde of the Court and desired him (as a Resolved way to approue himselfe and satisfie the Governors) to read unto or examine in their presence some of the best schollars under M^r Haynes in those Greeke and Latine Authors wherein they learne, that (perceiving his abillitie therein) they might be able to testifie their knowledge in his behalfe. Who made answere unto them that there had never beene any such course formerly taken with other schoolmasters who have been chosen the place (*sic*). And therefore since this tryall was without example (If the Governors pleased not to bee satisfied with their long experience of his service in his place, the testimony of his friends and his owne declarations in his Peticon) hee would not begin any such President in his owne perticuler. Whereupon the said two divines made a returne of M^r Vicars his final answere to the Court. Then the Court (the better to avoid all partialitie in their eleccion) intreated the said two divines to propound the same course of tryall to M^r Walters, (notwithstanding they had many reall proofes in himselfe of his sufficiency, besides the testimony of most of the knowne Schoolmasters in the Schooles in and about this Cittie). Who upon receipt of the Motion did most willingly accept therof and (in their presence and hearing) did *oppose** the choicest Schollars under M^r Haynes . . . like a compleate Grammar and Learned School-Master in most exact and schollerlike Manner.'

The result of course was the election of Walters, who thereafter lapses into obscurity till his death twenty-one years later, when at his desire he was buried "in the cloyster neere to my predecessour M^r Waddington."

But poor John Vicars, who was again an unsuccessful candidate for the post when Walters died, deserves a passing mention. Trollope gives him a long notice, which is by n

* Cf. "Apposition Day" at St. Paul's School.



THE COUNTING HOUSE DOOR

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE REV. D. F. HEYWOOD

the House accounted for nearly £17,000 out of the total raised. In one way or another the Governing Body expended upon this great scheme of rebuilding over £150,000, between the passing of the enabling Act in 1795 and the year of the Queen's Accession, and it will be well to conclude this chapter by saying roughly how such a sum was spent. It may be added that the fund remained open for years after the work was finished, and finally realised almost enough to cover this large outlay.

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had any such official save the present one, and he was not invested with powers equal to the name till the new scheme came into action in 1891. The "Heads" of the last half-century by their outstanding ability have gradually asserted their position as Head, but in fact there was always a power behind them. Two hundred years ago this power was in front and in fact everywhere. The person who then did the work of the Head Master was called "the Upper Grammar Master," and his authority was strictly limited to the boys under his immediate instruction. It might happen, as it still does, that he found his boys after sufficient trial to be unsuited for the classical side, but it was not in his power to transfer them to the "Writing School" or commercial side. This is borne out by the frequent entries in the minutes of his watch-dog, the "Committee of Schooles," to this effect: "M^r Mountfort, the upper grām̄ar master, presented the names of some children in his Schoole to be removed into the Writing Schoole for altogether, they being (as he alleadges) either superannuated, diseased, or dull." But so elementary a question of management he could not settle on his own authority. Nor did experience or length of service in any way mitigate this bondage to a set of excellent but perhaps hardly scholarly City gentlemen, even though Samuel Mountfort, who had been elected in 1682, had been commended to the Governors by men like Benjamin Whichcote and Gilbert Burnet. His very limited monarchy lasted till 1719.

Four years before his appointment there had been an inquiry, in which the ubiquitous Pepys took part, into the state of the Grammar School, and the result implies that Mountfort would have no easy task. The inquirers found "about seventy house children therein and as many pay children under the care of the Master and the Usher." The house children have been neglected in favour of the "Town or pay scholars," and therefore "that the House children may be better instructed for the future, they present it as their opinion that noe Town boy be taught in the said Grām̄a Schoole." Then they proceeded to legislate about numbers

'Having considered the Children that are to be taught in the Gramar Schoole in order for the Mathematicall Schoole and some few other children for the University with some few other for the eminent services,—they present it as their opinion that sixty boyes will be a sufficient number to be bredd up in the Gramar Schoole, unless the Governors shall at any time hereafter think fitt to augment that number.'

Two things in this report deserve notice. The regulation as to the teaching of outside scholars has been already mentioned. For the moment the master in occupation found the regulation "not good enough," for within a week of its adoption Mr. Brice, the Usher, reported to the President (September 24th, 1678) that "M^r Helmes,* the master of the said Gramar Schole . . . would remove from this Hospitall forthwith and would take the Town Children with him." He evidently knew which part of his work paid him best. But the other feature of the new rule was more momentous, and probably, if poor Mountfort could only have expressed his feelings about it, much more galling. In modern times it is the boast of the Hospital staff that the old learning and the new "lie down together," that Judah does not vex Ephraim and Ephraim does not envy Judah; but in Mountfort's time the new sciences were very, very new, much as "Dr. Isaac Newton" was doing to make them familiar. And when Mountfort came to take up his duties, he found that they consisted partially in preparing "some few" boys for the University, but much more (indeed he gave an undertaking to do so) in providing a sufficient supply of Latin-taught pupils for the King's new foundation. He might see his best material filched from him to pass under his colleague, the Mathematical master, without it being in his power to protest. To take a case in point. In October, 1689, when he had had plenty of time to look about him, he made some suggestions to the Schools Committee about the age at which boys should pass from him to the "Mathemat," and had small thanks for his pains. He "declared his opinion in writing concerning this matter, which being only in shorthand, he was desired to transcribe the same in as

* Shadrach Helmes: *floruit* 1662-78.

few words as possible, and to mention only bare matter of fact, and when he has soe done to give it to M^r Treasurer." The question was really of considerable moment from a Head Master's point of view, but four years later (June 21st, 1693) he was still mildly applying to the Committee for a decision, and was referred to the Court, from whom he appears to have got no more attention.

Besides his actual teaching, he seems to have shared with his two colleagues of the Writing and Mathematical schools the responsibilities of discipline out of school hours. For instance, it was laid down in his instructions that he must "be present every Lord's day both forenoone and afternoone at Church to observe their behaviour dureing prayer and sermon time"; but this, he protested, was too much for his patience, and the Governors agreed to substitute "frequently" for every Sunday; as "Church" was at that time being held in the Tabernacle, a draughty erection in the middle of Christ Church, before it was rebuilt after the Fire, there was some excuse for Mountfort's unwillingness to be regular, and his desire to be merely "frequent." Again, he was liable to be present in his turn during the children's meals in the hall, though this was more or less dependent upon the general state of discipline. For example, three years before Mountfort's appointment (Dec. 19th, 1679) there was an order of Committee to the following effect: "By reason of the sicknesse and weaknesse of M^r Wright the Steward, the Matron, and the negligence of several of the nurses, the Children are now under little or noe Government in the Hall or Wards out of Schoole hours, which hath (*sic*) and dayly will prove very prejuditiall," the Committee "doe order that the foure Schoole Masters, viz^t M^r Mansfield,* M^r Perkins, M^r Smith and M^r Sampson shall forthwith in turn dayly be with the Children at Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper, and in their Wards at night, to observe that the Children doe behave themselves orderly and according to such instruction as they give or should give them, at Schoole and Catechisme."

The mention of "Catechisme" suggests a description of

* Mountfort's predecessor: *floruit* 1678-82.

the one office which gave a certain precedence to the Upper Grammar Master. He was generally appointed Catechist at a small additional salary. This brought him into contact with the whole school, which assembled for the purpose of learning the Church Catechism under his instruction. And it may be well at this point to show how from the beginning and on till the great change of 1891 Christ's Hospital set herself to impart to all her sons and daughters the doctrine of the Church of England "and none other."

We start with the second Grammar Master, Waddington, who in 1570 is found making a request for "bokes for the Children, which is the Catechisme Late set forthe by M^r Nowell, Deane of Powles," and we find the books provided "out of hande." Again in 1579 there is an enactment that "all the officers of this Hospitall shall every Sondaie be present in the hall of this house at the Catechisme tyme." Apparently, the officers took the injunction to "be present" very literally, for in 1581 it is added that they are "there to *remaine* untill the xamynacon be done"; moreover, if any officer absents himself "without lycence or vppon a reasonable excuse to be accepted by M^r Trésurar," he "shall pay to the poores Box iiiid." Nor were the Governors themselves exempt, at any rate in these early days. "Euery Sondag in the yeare," says a minute of September 23rd, 1581, two of the Governors are to be at the catechizing, according to a rota consisting of members of the City Guilds, "that is to saie the fyrst month ii mercers, the ii two grocers and so throughe the companies, being Governors, as they stand in the table." And there is a much higher penalty for "shuffling." "Yf anye in this appoyntment beinge dewly warned absent themselves (without they appoynte one other in their place) shall paie to the poores boxe twelue pence without redemptyon."

The first record as to the payment for this difficult task is to the effect that John Hales who was appointed in 1579 should have "a yearlie stypend of v^l by the year"; and the first mention of the place of meeting shows that "Catechize" was held in "the loue[r] part of the greate churche," that is to say in the nave of Christ Church, which was some two

hundred feet long by itself; but two years later (September, 1581), the books speak of "the Catechisme in the grt hall," and henceforth the Grammar Master took his catechetical exercise within the walls of the hospital. Thus in 1628, perhaps because they had begun to find attendance at Catechism somewhat of a burden, the Governors were warned "to see the Children Catechised every Sabbath day in the Hall," and Mr. Vicars, the then Catechist, "for his greate care and paines" had his "sellery" raised about the same time to ten pounds. No doubt the girls of the Hospital were included in this instruction. But a good lady, "M^{rs} Margaret Wale, Widdowe," took it into her head in 1643 to leave five pounds a year "for some honest and able man" to instruct the "Maiden Children" in the principles of religion. For this office there were two Candidates, Mr. Vicars, the ordinary Catechist, and Mr. Wickings, the Steward, and on a vote "the Maior parte of hands" were held up for Mr. Wickings. But Mr. Vicars decidedly objected. He had been instructing the girls and doing it "of his own Voluntary Inclinacon," which means that he had not been paid for it, nor had any of his predecessors ever done so. Evidently the Governors felt he had a grievance; and so "for the Auoyding of further difference and Controuersie," decided that Mr. Vicars should have Widow Wale's five pounds a year for catechising the girls. The money was well earned if he carried out his instructions; for he was to teach them "On Thirsdayes Satterdayes and Sundayes Two howers in euery of the said dayes by a perfect and full hower glasse." Both the hour-glass and the length of the discourse will serve to remind us that in 1643 the Puritan was already a power in the land. The Restoration reduced the "two howers" to one on each of the same three days, as may be seen from the rules to which Mountfort put his signature on appointment in 1682. The modern schoolboy would think it a curious Saturday half-holiday, out of which an hour was taken for the Church Catechism.

But the point from which we started this description of the Catechist and his duties was the position and prestige of the

Upper Grammar Master. He had this vastly important part of religious instructor assigned to him, but it is clear that it gave him no pre-eminence, still less a right to interfere with his colleagues.* To take a case in point. In December 1702 there was considerable tension between the masters because Mountfort in his capacity as spiritual pastor took to sending for boys from any school at any hours "to give them correction for absenting from Catechize." The other masters appealed to the Committee, which held one of its "large debates on this matter" and managed to arrange a compromise, which put the poor Upper Grammar Master still more "in his right place" than he was before. They thought it indeed "highly reasonable and necessary for M^r Mountfort to send for any boy down to his Schoole in schoole houres upon account of being a Defaulter or absenter from Catechize"; but he must not take too much upon him. In future he must arrange to send for his runaways during the first hour of school (7 to 8 a.m. in summer, and 8 to 9 a.m. in winter), "and at noe other houres or time whatsoever." He might not even choose the text-books for his Catechumens; that was done by the Committee on outside advice; for "Noel," as the books call the old dean, was at last displac'd in 1685, after answering the purpose for over a century, and "for several reasons moveing this Committee, and particularly by the advice of the Lord Bishop of London, it was agreed D^r ffords and M^r Evans exposition upon the Church Catechisme shall be provided for the Children not exceeding 100."

It would appear that in 1718, when Samuel Mountfort was in his dotage, the Governors were anxious about the progress of this religious teaching, and they gave an order that "for the readier perfecting the Children in their Catechise three thousand of Catechisms of the Ch: of England be printed and one given to each child"—an act which must be connected with the circumstance that a few days earlier the Committee "being mett divided and went two into every ward of the House in order to Catechise the Children." And they were always ready to adopt any means of making the

* The office of Catechist was, in fact, sometimes held by the Usher.

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Catechism intelligible. In 1754 "the Rev. M^r James Townley, upper master of the Grammar School and Catechist [1753-1760] presented . . . the Church Catechism in a Declaratory Form, intended to assist the Children in understanding the Questions and Answers and to fix the whole more strongly upon their minds." But this merely added to the children's burdens, for copies were at once sent to Hertford and Ware for each child "to learn by heart *as well as* the Church Catechism." In Trollope's time Crossman's *Introduction to the Christian Religion* seems to have acted the part of the "Declaratory Form."

One other point in the Catechist Grammar Master's duties must be mentioned here, for it had characterised the early days and remained in force long after Mountfort's time. As far back as 1581 there is an order of the Court that "euery sondaie ii of the best Lerner children vnder M^r Wadingtons parte shalbe appoynted" to "pen the Sermonds at pauls crosse euery sondaie." This writing out in their best round hand of discourses of unmerciful length may have lapsed a little in the course of years, but it was still a tradition, for, shortly after Mountfort's appointment, there is a motion of Committee (January 13th, 1684), "that the Catechizer's charge might receive some alterations" as to the Sunday afternoon hour, and there is this special note: "the same is to be remembered, that hee causes some of the Children to give an accompt what they remember of the Sermonds preached that day."

Catechist as he was, and directly responsible for religious instruction, the Upper Grammar Master was apt to be called to account if he allowed his zeal for his sacred office to be controlled by a little common sense. It was his traditional duty to "enter every morning into the said [grammar] schoole at 7 of the clocke and there presently according unto lawdable custome [to] see the Children in the said schoole devoutely say and make prayers and supplicacon vnto Almightye GOD, As well in the morning as at 11 before noone, as also at one of the clocke in the afternoone, and at any other time when the Schollers shall departe from Schoole." But Bishop

Compton, as every "Blue" knows, composed a set of prayers to be said at meal-times and in the evenings, and Mountfort felt that to say prayers in school as well was supererogatory. However, the Visitors of the Schools at Michaelmas, 1695, thought otherwise, and reported him to the Committee. Why, they asked, did he omit "the reading of a chapter and prayers to be said in the Schoole"? His reply was that as Compton's prayers were said before breakfast, at breakfast, dinner, and supper, and afterwards in their wards, "if he used them to it in the Schoole, it might rather pall their Devotion then otherwayes." And, to their credit, the Committee agreed with him.

To pass from his religious duties to his administrative task as Upper Grammar Master, it is equally clear that the "Head" was head only in name, and that his comings and goings were carefully watched and promptly commented on. Just at the end of his time Mansfield was twice in disgrace for fairly trivial offences. In February 1682 the watchful Committee suggested that he should be brought before the Court, because he "came this afternoon at one of the clock, stayed halfe an houre and soe went away and came noe more this afternoone," with the result that the children "get a habit of idlenesse and rudenesse." The previous May had seen another dire offence. For "M^r Treasurer acquainted the Committee that the Grammar and Writing Schoole Masters did yesterday (May 2) dismiss their Schollars on pretence that May-Day falling on Sunday last they might give the Boyes liberty to play on the day following. Upon which both M^r Mansfield and M^r Smith acquainting the Committee they did it ignorantly, and that they would not presume to doe any such thing for the time to come, the Committee rested satisfied therewith." On the other hand, there was the same tight hold on the master in respect of correction, which is the correlative of holidays, and Mountfort was twice called to book for severity, once in 1695 and again in 1706. The 1695 episode is worth recording in the Committee's own words. "There was a boy in the house whose friends made complaint of M^r

Mountfort's very severe usage of him, giving him 31 lashes one day and 31 the next day," and the allegation had to be sifted by the help of "M^r Green, the Surgeon." So they adjourned that he might attend and report. But next week, when the matter came up again, "the Surgeon being called was not to be found"; probably, though the Grammar Master had no such authority as would make him a terror, the Surgeon preferred "not to be found." Anyhow the Committee made their report without him, and decided that there was some ground for the complaint. Still they "do not find that he hath practised the same lately," and content themselves with saying that for the future Mountfort is "required and enjoined to use such moderate correction to the children, as may reduce them to good behaviour, more by shame then smart, which both as a Master and a Divine is left to his discretion."

On the whole, his actual teaching work at the beginning of his time can hardly have been of extreme difficulty. He had just seventy boys in his school, and they were fairly equally distributed into four classes, of which the highest was called the fourth. He promised on appointment to keep a good supply of boys to be drafted into the Royal Mathematical School, which for a long while was his most imperative duty. He got rid by degrees of those whom he found it impossible to teach. For the rest, he had to be ready twice a year to receive an examiner at "the Visitation of Schooles," and occasionally to bring up a boy or two to the Committee as ready for the University. We can now see with what success the Upper Grammar Master answered these two requirements.

The Visitation of the Schools took place with the greatest regularity at Easter and about the third week in September. The examiners were appointed at a Committee a few days previously to the Visitation; the same man examined year after year, and his report was given in a day or two after his examination or even on the very day itself. Thus for some twelve years at the end of the seventeenth century the examiner is Dr. John Williams; for the first twenty

years of the eighteenth century the reports are in the undistinguished name of "Thos. Cooke." The system obviously tended to formality, and the examiner rarely wrote more than three or four lines, to the effect that he had "this day" examined the boys of the Grammar School and found them moderately well acquainted with "the Several Authors" appointed for their study. Occasionally, the beggarly elements of such a statement are supplemented by a detail or two. One, which occurs frequently both in Williams' reports and in Cooke's, settles a question which is still of interest. "I find," says Dr. Williams in 1690, "the lads of the fourth classis very well instructed in Tully's Epistles and Erasmus Colloqiyes." "In particular," Cooke reports in 1711, "the upper part of the fourth class gave me a good account of Erasmus and Tully's Epistles." Presently Cooke adds to our knowledge of the books studied by mentioning with approval the work of "the Classes which read Corderius and Cato," but he says, "I miss a class between Cato and the Vocabulary, which used to be in the School" (September 1717). At another time (September 1715) he misses two classes which used to be in the School, "the one whereof used to read Cato, the other a book called *Sententiae Pueriles*." Besides all these he mentions the Greek Classes. We have thus got certain boys at the top, who learn Greek, and are, no doubt, the cream of the Fourth Class. That Class reads year after year the Colloquies of Erasmus and Cicero's Letters—a richly deserved compliment to Erasmus. Then there is a Corderius Class, a Cato Class, and a Class called the Vocabulary. All this helps to solve the question why two hundred years later there should still be Classes in Newgate Street called "Erasmus," either "Great" or "Little," either "A" or "B." It has sometimes been urged that these boys gained the name "Erasmus" because they learned Greek and because the Dutchman did so much for the study of that language in England. But from the examiners' reports it is clear that the Greek pupils were a very small minority of the boys who read Erasmus. Again, the examiners drop naturally into the Christ's Hospital

custom of calling the Classes by the books they read century after century, till the masters must have been heartily sick of them. The Fourth-class read Erasmus, and "Erasmus" became its name.

It is only fair to the examiners to say that they sometimes gave expression to their dissatisfaction. "I did not find the boys of the inferiour classes," Cooke complains, "to be so ready" as usual; or, again, he makes an exception to his praises in the case of the Corderius boys, "most of which are not fit to be continued in the said school." But he puts his finger on a much more serious flaw in Mountfort's work as Grammar Master, when he mentions the poor supply of boys qualified for the highest class. It may have been the fault of the Mathematical School, which had all the interest of the Governors on its side and attracted the best boys to its "Orders"; the fact remains that Mountfort did but little to push boys on to the University. This appears from his own admission in regard to his early years, and from a complaint of Cooke's later on. In 1695, when the Writing School was rebuilt at the cost of Sir John Moore, there arose a question about the ceremony to be observed at the formal opening, and Mr. Mountfort was requested to prepare and print a Latin Oration to be delivered by one of the boys. One would have expected the Upper Grammar Master to seize the chance of asserting himself on an occasion which more naturally belonged to his Writing colleague. But Mountfort excused himself, as he was "but in a weakly condition." Besides "he declared that he is of opinion that he hath never a boy in his schoole that's capable of speaking it now that Cobb and Frith are gone to the University." As he had only "lost" six pupils to the University in the last five years, this was hardly a reason which did him credit; and, even if his chief scholars were few, it ought to have been possible to prepare some lad in the Erasmus "classis" for the reading of a speech that Mountfort was to compose himself. But the lack of qualified material in the Grammar School appears still more from the examiners' reports. Cooke says in 1714, "I fear in little time the upper part of



the School will not be sufficiently supplied," and his remarks of four years later speak still more eloquently of a day of small things. "Only one defect," he says, "I observe, that the Greek classes are not filled, the Second whereof wants a speedy supply of *one boy*," and at the next visitation, six months later, he finds that "the Greek classes are defective, there being but five as yet instructed in that language." Yet the numbers under Mountfort had for many years been much above his original seventy; for the Visitors, already referred to, who found fault with him in 1695, made it their chief complaint that he had "broke the method of learning without any order of the Court"; and he replied that he had now one hundred and twenty boys in the Grammar School, and had made certain rearrangements for their advantage; besides, he added, as if that would settle everything, he had the approval of "Esq. Pepys" for what he did, and so he received the Committee's absolution.

Mr. Cooke's remark about the depletion of the highest class in the Grammar School describes the problem which had to be considered during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The minutes, it is of interest to notice, show that the familiar title of Grecian, though not mentioned *totidem litteris*, was already beginning to take shape. The top class is referred to as "those who read Greek," "the Greek Form," "the Greek Class," and even as "the Greek boys," from which it is no great leap to "Grecians," whilst those below begin to be definitely called "the Erasmus Class." But this period (1700-25) had other difficulties than nomenclature. The highest class, as already stated, was frequently short of its proper complement, a trouble which was to appear again in *Boyer's* time, and yet there was now a tendency to cut its numbers down. The demands of "the University" (no doubt Cambridge is meant) for a knowledge of Mathematics were causing trouble to the pupils of the Grammar School. And, worst of all, Christ's Hospital of two centuries ago was in the throes of the so-called "Classical *versus* Modern" controversy. It will be well to give the evidence on each point in inverse order.

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(i.) It was noted in March 1713 that "severall children not designed for the University are continued in the Gramar School till ffourteen & ffifteen years of age to the great prejudice of such children." For the moment the Committee contented themselves with deciding that twelve and a half years should be the limit, and that such boys should then be sent to the Writing School, adding (in their wonted absence of ceremony with the Grammar Master) that he "have notice of this order and the same to be set up in his School and to be observed." A few weeks later the matter came up again. These boys, it was explained, were "deprived of the opportunity of instructing themselves in Writing and Arithmetic, the more imediate and necessary qualifications for their preferment in the world," and the following scheme was approved. No boy above the age of nine was to be taken into "Mr Cobb's School" (*i.e.* the under grammar class), and at the end of six months Mr. Cobb was "to give an account whether the boys put under him are fit to be continued or rejected." Being "continued" of course meant that they would pass under the hands of Mountfort, and the scheme gave orders that at the end of three months Mountfort "be obliged to give the like account of each boy's capacity." Their desire, obviously, was to prevent boys from "wasting time over the Classics," when they might be preparing for commercial life.

(ii.) This is the time when the Hospital began to see the need of a special course of instruction for its Grecians in higher mathematics. The commissioners of 1837 noted that the Travers and other gifts to the Mathematical School had "of late years" been used for the benefit of the upper grammar classes, but the essence of this arrangement can be found a century and a quarter earlier. For, it was agreed in 1712 "that David Currey and Thomas Trigg [who afterwards gave the Hospital over £500 as a token of gratitude] the two upper boys in the Gramar School do for two or three hours in the day goe to the Mathematical School, viz^t one to the Royall Mathematical School the other to the New Mathematicall School [Stone's Foundation] to be instructed in

some parts of the Mathematicks in order to prepare them for the University." Three years afterwards, when Edmund Tew, who enriched the Hospital at his death with a legacy of £4,000, was a "Greek boy," the expedient devised for a special case became a perpetual ordinance, "that the two upper boys in the Grammar School for the time being do for the future, a year and a halfe before they goe to the University, goe two Hour's in a day, viz^t from seven to nine in the morning into the Mathematical School in order to fitt them the better for the University." Considering that in the period already mentioned (1700-25) only four exhibitioners went to Oxford as against twenty-five to Cambridge, we are probably right in supposing that the requirements of the latter university, whose first Tripos list was to come out two-and-twenty years later, compelled the Governors to provide their candidates with this mathematical preparation. Yet the School scored no Tripos honours till the eleventh list (1758), when Henry Binfield was 7th Wrangler.

(iii.) But the chief difficulty was to keep up a proper supply for the Upper Grammar School, and at the same time to make sure that the material was of sufficiently good quality. The Committee of March 1713, whose scheme has already been referred to, decided (though it is almost certain that the first clause was not insisted on) "that one boy and no more be sent in each year to the University, that ten boys and no more be at the same time instructed and fitted for the University," and that they be taught in three classes, "two wherof to be in the uppermost and four in each of the other two classes." The fourth class in the Grammar School was to consist "of forty boys to supply the Royall Mathem^l School and the number designed for the University," Mountfort thus having fifty altogether, while the under master had sixty in three classes of twenty, so as to fill the vacancies in the Upper School. This proved to be merely a paper scheme. In the following November Mountfort came to the Committee complaining that he wanted boys for his school, and all they could do was to order "that M^r East School Master at Hertford be wrote to and that he send up ten boys to the

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House (viz^t) Six of the most pregnant and four of the oldest"—the latter no doubt to fill up the remaining places in the cart. Again, the rule about one boy a year for the University caused immediate difficulties, for Mountfort had to report in 1714 that his two upper boys were over nineteen, and the Committee agreed that "they must be sent to the University upon the charge of the House or be otherwise disposed of." They were both sent, and one of them, Thomas Grover, became a Fellow of Trinity; but "for preventing the like inconvenience in the future" the Committee decided to weed out the Upper Grammar School still further. The "Greek class" was to be reduced from ten to six, presumably in three "partings" of two each, with a corresponding reduction in the lower classes, and they called in their perennial examiner, Mr. Cooke, to pay a special visit and "make his Report of the five [afterwards altered to six] best Qualify'd boys both in respect of age and Learning to be continued for the University that soe the others may be imediately removed into the Writing School to be Qualifyed for other imployments."

Apparently, although the master was clamouring for a supply of boys and the Committee were reducing the numbers, the Grammar School continued its useful work. Exhibitioners went to the Universities at an average rate of two a year, and at least qualified for their degree. Mountfort was succeeded in 1719 by Matthew Audley, a former Grecian, who found himself under the same strict control as his predecessor, and seems to have needed it. He was ordered that "he doe for the future apply to S^r George Merttins Knt Treasurer before he sends for any Book or Books for the use of the Grammar School, who is to order the same as he shall see fitt," while at the very same date the examiner was reporting "that the Tully's Epistles are so very incorrectly Printed that they are not fitt to be used." Evidently this matter was not attended to, for in 1725 Cooke complained that "the Boys of the Fourth Class who for 30 years past have been examined in Erasmus and Tully's Epistles as the Statutes require they should be offered themselves to be

examined in Erasmus only, the reason whereof I know not." But, whatever the interference from the Counting House, Audley was clearly very unsatisfactory. He was "complained of" in 1720 "touching his severity in the correction of one of his boys"; in 1722, "for Misbehaviour to Sir George Merttins Treasurer," when he was "exorted to a better behaviour for the future"; in 1724, for "Divers Neglects and Eregularities in his conduct and Duty to the Great prejudice and ill example of the Children"; and in 1725 for another "great irregularity." Probably, from the point of view of the Governors, nothing in Audley's life became him like the leaving of it the same year, when death saved him from dismissal. Peter Selby, who had left as a Grecian in 1711, and had just been made Under Grammar Master, at once came into Audley's room and put things on a better footing. Cooke, whose many years of examination were nearly over, found Selby's "severall Greek Classes very well versed," and Mordecai Carey, one of Mountfort's pupils, who had gone up to Trinity in 1705, and subsequently became an Irish bishop, reported "those in Greek to be extraordinary perfect, and those in Latin to be very well" (1728); and again, "I find the upper boys perfect to an extraordinary degree not only in Greek and Latine, but in Hebrew also,"—the first mention, as far as I know, of Semitic studies as part of the curriculum. Both Grecians and Deputy-Grecians were reading Hebrew, when the Commissioners of 1837 made their investigations, but the subject has long since dropped out. Peter Selby's efforts were directed to an improvement in the class-books. Within a year of his election he "presented a new sett of Select Epistles out of Tully more Plain and not so difficult as those in use, and which with great pains he collected and at his own Expence Printed, chiefly for the use of the Grammar School in this Hospital, and requested the favour of the Committee to permitt him to dedicate the same to the President Treasurer and Governors." Perhaps he hoped for something more tangible as well, but he had to wait for that till 1728, when "in a most dutifull manner he presented his book intituled a new Praxis for the more easy

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initiation of Latin Schollars compiled by him with much Pains and Application." This time he was awarded ten guineas "as an encouragement to learning and industry," and the general absence of any complaint against him in the minutes is more eloquent even than his election to the vicarage of Clavering of his endeavour to do his duty by the Grammar School.

Nothing more definite can be attested of his three successors, Seawell Heatherly, James Townely, and Peter Whalley, of whom only the first was an "Old Blue." But the last-named should be saved from obscurity by the fact that for the last nine years of his very limited monarchy he had the Rev. James Boyer as his colleague in the Lower Grammar School. With him—for he succeeded Whalley in 1776—we come to the only Upper Grammar Master of Christ's Hospital who is known to fame, though even he is excluded from the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Boyer (or Bowyer) was born in 1736, the son of a "Citizen and Cooper," and it is of interest to note that both the family and the School are to-day represented in the person of Mr. John Boyer, the venerable clerk of the Coopers' Company. "J. B." was admitted to the Hospital in 1744 from the parish of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, his Governor being Mr. "Micajah Perry," and he was prepared for the university by Seawell Heatherly. Of his career at Oxford nothing is known save that he entered at Balliol; but he must have had some attainments to hold his own with the man who succeeded him as Under Grammar Master. For Matthew Feilde had won the Chancellor's Medal in 1772, the year after the same honour had fallen to the great Law of Peterhouse, who became Lord Ellenborough, and Feilde was a Fellow of Pembroke. No schoolmasters have ever been more charmingly delineated than these two, under whose sway, as Lamb has told us, "the Upper and the Lower Grammar Schools were held in the same room, and an imaginary line only divided their bounds. Their character was as different as that of the inhabitants on the two sides of the Pyrenees." It is hardly necessary to quote such familiar words as Lamb's playful description

of the two. He must ultimately have reached the superior side of the "imaginary line" and come under the "heavy hand" of "J. B.," but he writes as one of Feilde's pupils, all "careless as birds," taking "two years in getting through the verbs deponent, and another two in forgetting all that we had learned about them." Meanwhile Feilde "came among us now and then, but often stayed away whole days from us; and when he came it made no difference to us—he had his private room to retire to, the short time he stayed, to be out of the sound of our noise." With the result that "his highest form seldom proceeded further than two or three of the introductory fables of Phaedrus." Lamb adds, quite truly, that Boyer could not interfere; Feilde was in no sense "under" the Head Grammar Master, but was responsible to the Committee, who, strangely enough, had a good opinion of his industry. They made him vicar of Ugley and curate of Berden in 1785, permitting him to retain his mastership and to neglect his benefices. They did for him what I know no other instance of their doing—they paid the cost of his dilapidations at Ugley, "considering that the said Rev. Matthew Feilde has filled a very laborious office in this Hospital near ten years."

But Feilde had greatness thrust upon him by Elia's and Leigh Hunt's descriptions. Boyer was really a successful master, as success was reckoned in those times, and if he had been responsible for discipline out of school, and had held anything approaching to the power of the modern Head Master, the minutes would hardly contain certain references to the conduct of Grecians whom Lamb has made famous,—references which can well be left in their present obscurity. In his class-room Boyer was obeyed with a holy fear. All our three essayists agree about that. Lamb tells of his "heavy hand" and his *rabidus furor*. Leigh Hunt's verdict is that "he was indeed a proper tyrant, passionate and capricious." Coleridge knew Boyer better than the other two, and has left us an appreciation of him which Elia acknowledges to be an "intelligible and ample encomium." "I enjoyed the inestimable advantage," Coleridge says, "of a very sensible

though at the same time a very severe master." After speaking of his classical judgment, he goes on to acknowledge Boyer's care in making them read the best English authors. "I learned from him that poetry, even that of the loftiest and seemingly that of the wildest odes, had a logic of its own, as severe as that of science. . . . He sent us to the University excellent Latin and Greek scholars, and tolerable Hebraists." True, his "severities, even now, not seldom furnish the dreams, by which the blind fancy would fain interpret to the mind the painful sensations of distempered sleep," but for Coleridge there was no denying that to Christ's Hospital Boyer during his whole life "was a dedicated thing." A tribute like this may indeed be coloured by the interest which Boyer took in our "Logician, Metaphysician, Bard," picking him out against his will as being fit for a Grecianship, and ultimately suggesting—such is the vanity of human wishes—that it would be well to enter the boy at Jesus College, Cambridge, "as the prospect of his preferment *in the Church* would be very favourable if he were preferred to that College."

But the Hospital's records tend in every way to confirm the justice of his pupil's verdict. For instance, Boyer found himself in the trouble that had fallen, as we have seen, on his predecessor, Samuel Mountfort. He could not get the requisite supply of boys for his school, and a letter which he wrote to the Committee in October 1790, while Coleridge was a "Grecian," shows his difficulties and his appreciation of their cause. "It is," he said, "an indulgence sometimes granted by the Hospital to the Boys designed by their parents for the profession of Physic or the Law, that by a special Order the Upper Grammar Master keeps them in his course of education till they are of age to be discharged from the House. This custom is now introducing at Hertford to the material prejudice of the Upper Grammar School." "When the Under School was established at Hertford upon the plan which has always subsisted with the Under School in London, viz.: That the best taught Boys in it should supply the vacancies in the Upper Grammar

School, it was seen that the benefit of thus collecting the Boys of the finest understandings and best improvement into one point, as it were, would be very great from the emulation among so considerable a number under one Master, whose whole exertions are concentrated in the higher parts of classical learning." He then went on to complain of the lack of recruits for his school. "At this time when I have recently received the supply from both Under Schools, I want of my complement eight boys, which is more than the sixth part of my appointment." Obviously, if things went on in this direction, "the Master of the Upper School cannot expect to obtain for the future other than Boys of the second rate."

The system to which Boyer refers of giving some special attention to boys intended for "Physic or the Law" is a sign that even the eighteenth century made some attempt to introduce a little elasticity into the objects of the Grammar School. It may perhaps be traced as far back as 1717, when it was noted by the Committee that "frequent demands are made for Children out of this House for supply of the Profession of the Law and other good business, and notwithstanding the Number of Children now in this House there is wanting a supply for these purposes, the reason of which is imputed to the ill-management of the Grammar School" [during the last years of Samuel Mountfort]. While the result of their special investigations into the matter is not on record, they no doubt made some such arrangement as Boyer inherited, though his "Physic and the Law" pupils had never, he now told them, exceeded five or six at a time. He was certainly right when he urged that the system should not be permitted at Hertford, where these specialists would "unavoidably engage a very large portion of the Master's time," who "has already sufficient to engross his whole attention." The Committee saw the reasonableness of "J. B.'s" plea and gave immediate orders that Hertford boys "reading the Books in common use with the Third Class of the Upper Grammar School" should at once be brought to join that school, and that "the boys indulged for the

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future in a Grammar education till quitting the Hospital" should join the Upper Grammar School at the age of eleven.

Now it is obvious that an absurd *impasse* of this sort could never have existed if the Upper Grammar Master had been allowed anything like the requisite discretion and authority. The Committee clearly had every confidence in Boyer. When he resigned in 1799, and perhaps went at last to the valuable rectory of Gainscolne, to which the Hospital had appointed him six years before, they bestowed upon him an unprecedented gratuity of £500, "having borne in mind the great benefit which the Hospital have derived from his attention in the discharge of his duties." But it only needs a glance at the salaries paid to the chief educational authority and to other functionaries a century ago to see that the former was looked upon generically as a person of no great importance. In 1784 he had headed the list. Then the Clerk received £180, the Receiver £160, the Apothecary £130, the Steward £150, and the Master at Hertford £155, while Boyer's stipend was £200 16s. 8d. In his last year, 1799, a considerable change has already come about to the disadvantage of his position. The Clerk's salary has risen to £245, the Receiver's and the Apothecary's to £210, and the Steward's and the Hertford Master's to £200, but Boyer's remains at £200 16s. 8d.; he is better off than his colleague of the Junior School only by the odd shillings and pence, while the Counting House begins to look down on him altogether. In 1800, soon after the appointment of his successor, Dr. Trollope, salaries were raised all round, but the Upper Grammar Master was still well in the rear. The Clerk was now drawing £330, the Receiver £270, the Apothecary £250, the Steward £260, and the Hertford Master £240, but Dr. Trollope's advance is only in the old proportion—to £240 16s. 8d. Yet here was a Chancellor's Medallist and Members' Prizeman, whose instruction produced Mitchell, the translator of Aristophanes, Thomas Barnes, the editor of *The Times*, Scholefield, the Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and John Greenwood and Edward Rice, whose work as successive Upper Grammar

Masters after him carries us up to the year 1853. The Counting House officials leave him altogether behind in respect of emolument, and he cannot even catch up the steward or the doctor. It is indeed sometimes urged that the masters could better themselves by means of private pupils' fees. Privileges cut down are generally a sign of the presence of some abuse, and it may be that Boyer and his contemporaries had extended their liberty in the matter of private pupils beyond the proper bounds. In the old days when the Upper Grammar Masters such as Shadrach Helmes (1662-78), who took the place of one George Perkins, "disabled" for "not having subscribed the Late Act of Parliament," received £20 a year, they had to take private pupils or starve. And the Governors were quite reasonable. It was put to the vote (December 1663) "whether the Maister and Usher of the Gramer Schoole should have 80 pay schollers as heretofore or not, and although it be a great number, the Court by vote at present continued itt." But those were primitive days, in which it was necessary for the Court to enact that "the children presume not" to come into the Master's presence "with dirty hands &c. to the disgrace of the Government of this ffoundation." But it is almost certain that in Boyer's time the number of "pay-schollers" had undergone a great and necessary reduction. Leigh Hunt, who clearly had no love for "J. B.," comparing him with the tyrannical schoolmasters "described with such masterly and indignant edification by my friend Charles Dickens," says: "We had a few boarders at the School: boys whose parents were too rich to let them go on the foundation"; and he proceeds to contrast Boyer's "caresses" of these lordlings with his "spiteing" of actual "Blues." The reader must reckon with Leigh Hunt's obvious prejudice. We are on surer ground when we come to a resolution of March 6th, 1799, the time of Boyer's resignation, and therefore a convenient season for revising the regulations. This new order was as follows: "That the two Grammar Masters, the Mathematical Master, the two Writing Masters and the Master of the Reading and Writing School be permitted

to have Private Scholars, not exceeding six each, provided that no inconvenience shall arise to the Hospital from this permission; and further that those Scholars do mix with the Children of this House, receiving their instruction with them from their Masters, according to an ancient practice in their respective School Rooms, and not forming a particular or separate class." The ideal before the Governors was thus practically a "Colleger" and "Oppidan" system, and it lasted on till well within the last fifty years.

The Grammar School of the early nineteenth century went through just such a development as might be expected. When William IV.'s Commissioners made their report in 1837, they found the Upper Grammar Mastership just fallen into the hands of Edward Rice, who had succeeded John Greenwood in 1836. He was a man of ripe scholarship and of an untiring industry in the care of his pupils, which tended to shorten a valuable life. The late Canon Buckle left me some interesting notes on these two men which are worth recording. "Greenwood," he said, "was a schoolmaster of the old type. He wore a broad-brimmed hat, gaiters, and shoe-buckles, and sustained the dignity of his station by an imposing presence. But, though a fine Latin scholar, he did not trouble much about teaching. There was no thought of working for University distinctions. The two Grecians whom he sent up annually to receive the exhibitions they were entitled to at Pembroke College, Cambridge, did not commonly do more than go through their course respectably. In his time we took life easily. But a great change occurred when he passed away and was succeeded by the Second Master, Rice. I was then Deputy Grecian, and we felt at once the touch of a new hand. He pushed us on in a variety of ways, greatly enlarging the curriculum both of our books and exercises, and we began to think seriously about University distinctions. In this he was actively seconded by the new Mathematical Master, Mr. Webster." It may be well to add another of the Canon's recollections about the sermons of these two, for already it was the custom for the school in the evening in Hall to hear the Head Master preach, "a function

rather more to our liking" than the "exceedingly uninteresting" and "extremely uncomfortable" services at Christ Church. "Greenwood," he says, "was a trifle dry and pompous, but he was intelligible and short. Rice was a popular preacher at the Foundling [a mistake for "Lecturer of the Philanthropic Society"], and he often delighted our immature taste with the rhetorical orations which had charmed a very different audience." The reader should refer also to Professor D'Arcy Thompson's *Day-Dreams of a School-Master*.

Certainly Rice had a reward for his labours in the success of many of his pupils. Not to speak of the quiet but influential career of Canon Buckle, he prepared Harper for his ultimate headship first of Sherborne and then of Jesus College, Oxford; Sir Henry Sumner Maine for a career of stupendous intellectual activity which it is unnecessary to particularise, and which his contemporaries at the school little anticipated, for, "oddly enough," Canon Buckle told me, "we recognised him only as a poet"; Dr. Haig-Brown for the head-mastership and the practical recreation of Charterhouse School; Dr. Searle for the Mastership of Pembroke College, Cambridge; James Lemprière Hammond for a Trinity Tutorship and for valuable official service in the direction of secondary education; the Rev. G. C. Bell for the headship first of Christ's Hospital itself, and now for a quarter of a century of Marlborough College; and D'Arcy Thompson for a Greek Professorship at Queen's College, Galway. Both the school and the man can claim their meed of credit for having led to such influence on the education of the United Kingdom as is implied by these names.

The Commissioners of 1837 were evidently conscious of the efforts Rice was making. They found him in sole charge of eight Grecians, eighteen Deputy Grecians, and twenty-eight "Great Erasmus." The Little Erasmus had recently been relegated to the Lower School to lighten the Head Master's labours. "Mr. Rice," said the Commissioners, "considers himself able to teach as many as 50 boys

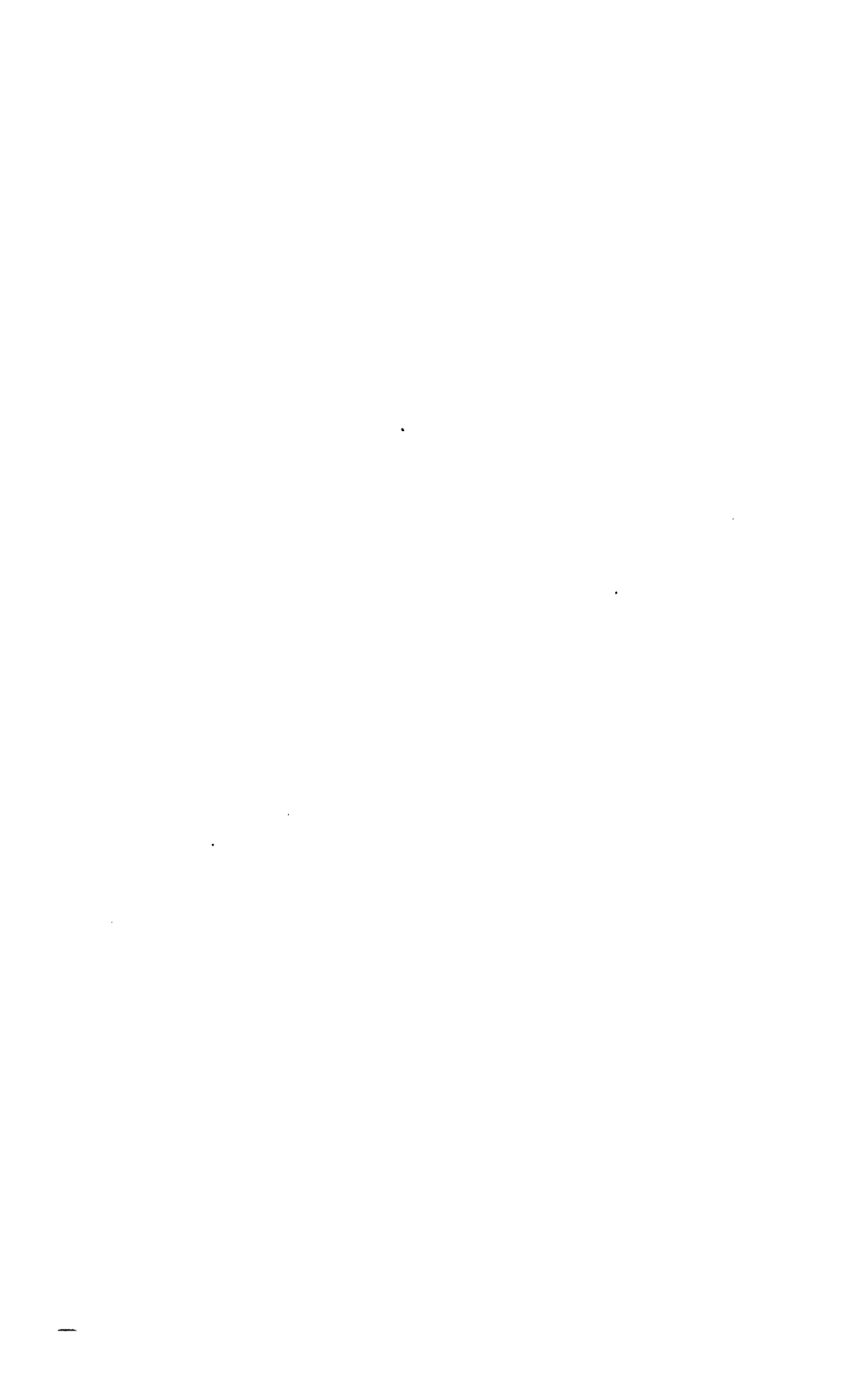
efficiently, but this can only be done by devoting on an average four hours daily of his time not spent in school to the correction of compositions." The class-books of the Deputy Grecians and Grecians, as then in use, may be taken to imply a reasonably high standard. The former read Pinnock's *Catechism of Hebrew Grammar*, the Greek Testament, Homer, Demosthenes, Cicero, Horace, the *Georgics*, and Terence. They made "Latin and English verses and themes." The Grecians' list of books comprised the Psalter in Hebrew and Ollivant's *History of Joseph*, there being "a Simon's Hebrew Lexicon for the use of the class." They read Thucydides, Herodotus, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Demosthenes, "and Valpy's Greek Testament" "Original compositions" were "required at stated intervals in Latin, Greek, and English prose and verse"—the latter being no doubt a survival from the days when Boyer with a "Pierian spring? Oh, aye, the cloister pump, I suppose!" would make ruthless emendations in Coleridge's youthful poems. It is questionable how far originality was fostered by another custom mentioned in the Commissioners' Report. Besides an English declamation "on a controversial subject," they found that "the Grecians speak a speech either in Latin prose or English poetry once a week, which forms a preparation for certain public orations, which the two seniors are called upon to deliver on St. Matthew's Day. These orations are original compositions on the subject of the Royal Hospitals, the one being in Latin and the other in English."

But the Rice *régime* saw the beginning of a still more important change. Up to 1836 it had been the custom to make a selection of two Deputy Grecians out of each year and to place them in the Grecians' class with a practical guarantee that when they were nineteen years of age they would be sent up to Pembroke, Cambridge, or, if necessary, to some other college, with a Hospital exhibition, one of the Deputy Grecian being selected every seventh year to enter under similar conditions at Oxford. The actual arena of intellectual contest at Christ's Hospital was thus the Deputy



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FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE REV. D. F. HEYWOOD



Grecians' class ; and when once admitted to the mystic circle of Greciandom a boy was fairly safe from further competition at an age when the struggle and the stress would be of inestimable value to him. Gradually but surely the custom arose of having more Grecians, in order to produce rivalry. The Universities had not yet introduced their present system of entrance scholarships, and any college scholarships won by "Blues" were only secured after they had been a year or more in residence. But the development of University competition was met at the Hospital by a better organisation of the exhibition funds ; indeed, from 1842 onwards Rice was able to send up four Grecians a year to Oxford and Cambridge.

It is unnecessary here to follow out in detail the careers of his successors. As it has been elsewhere explained, the office of Upper Grammar Master went through its natural evolution towards a monarchy, which the somewhat forcible methods of Dr. Jacob (1853-68) did much to hasten. A Head Master who urges in the pulpit on a state occasion in the presence of all his pupils that the intellectual instruction of the children is lamentably below the general requirements of the age, that the internal arrangements are very defective, and that the religious and moral training is almost entirely neglected, is apt to be considered by the Governing Body as something of a *mauvais sujet*, especially if he builds his charges on the foundation of a few months' knowledge of the facts. But looked at through the eyes of his pupils Dr. Jacob's character and abilities bear an appearance of great attractiveness. "Indeed," says his old pupil who for the last twenty-five years has filled his office, "there was that about the Doctor which could not fail to win affection and respect. Dignified in manner, courteous to all, patient and forbearing under constant provocations, judicious and discriminating in dealing with divers characters, industrious and painstaking to a degree, methodical and punctual in the discharge of duty, he made us feel the influence of a strong character, a distinct personality. His merits as a scholar, and especially as a teacher, are beyond dispute. . . . Much at which we laboured

and laboured in vain under others, while it was but an instrument of torture in their hands, in his became rather an instrument of music." The two Head Masters (the Rev. G. C. Bell, 1868-76, and the Rev. Richard Lee, 1876-1901), who have filled the three-and-thirty years which separate us from Dr. Jacob's resignation, are still living; and it is difficult in that case for one who entered the School under the former, and grew up in it under the watchful care and interest of Mr. Lee, to give a just estimate of what the Grammar School owes to them. Mr. Lee's memorial is written in the book of the chronicles of his exhibitioners as recorded by Mr. A. W. Lockhart. If it is to the credit of the generosity of the Governors that they have provided about one hundred and sixty "Blues" with exhibitions during the twenty-five years of Mr. Lee's reign, it is not less to his credit that each of the one hundred and sixty has obtained some academical distinction in open competition sufficient to qualify him to receive the Governors' help. What other assistance they have received from him in the cultivation of methodical habits, of a determination to "stick at it" till the foundations of classical knowledge are well and truly laid, they will be the first to acknowledge and the last to forget. To have been "in to Lee" for a "swinging task" in "Farrar's Card" or for a drilling in Greek accents, to have heard him worry out an allusion in an ode of Horace, or lead a trembling flock of Deputy Grecians into the not too digestible pastures of a Thucydidean speech, and not least—for the Head Master is still Catechist—to hear him in the first lesson of Monday morning draw out the subject-matter of a Pauline Epistle—these are experiences which go to the making of character as well as the training of intelligence. The writer of these sketches of the School's career would be doing no justice to his own feelings if he did not confess that, apart from the satisfaction of a personal friendship, he blesses the fate that took him to "Lee's class-room" and kept him there for five years.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MATHEMATICAL SCHOOL

"These boys wore a badge on the shoulder."—LEIGH HUNT.

"They were the most graceless lump in the whole mass."—CHARLES LAMB.

"King Charles, our late (now blessed) King,
Hath enlarged our Foundation;
Whose glory through the world shall ring,
By means of navigation."—*An Easter Anthem.*

THE general appearance of "Blues" is so familiar to the ordinary citizen that there is no need to remind him of the white-metal plate which distinguishes some of our number. If the citizen is asked what the plate means, it may be confessed that the accuracy of his answer is mostly in inverse proportion to the certainty with which it is given. He will tell you that the plate-bearer is a monitor or a Hebraist or a mighty athlete. But you may occasionally find a well-informed person who knows that the boy in question is a "Mathemat." Still, if you are further curious, and assume from this answer that the white-metalled youth is a budding "Wrangler," even the accuracy of the well-informed person will perhaps break down. So it may be well at this point to explain exactly what the boy is and why he wears that plate upon his shoulder.

The fighting spirit, in spite of peace-crusaders, is mostly to be found in any school worth the name. It found vent in Christ's Hospital of Charles I.'s day, when the boys turned out in 1639 with their drums and fifes to lead the train-bands about the City. But after the Restoration the need was not for volunteers to fight at home, but for youngsters to serve in "the King's Ships" and to man the growing mercantile

marine. Charles II. was hardly re-established on his throne before a naval war broke out with Holland. New Amsterdam was captured in 1664, the Dutch were first of all defeated off Lowestoft in 1665, then Monk routed de Witt and de Reuter at the North Foreland in June 1666, and once again in 1672 the Netherlanders succumbed to the English fleet off Southwold. All these victories had not been won without serious loss to the complement of officers, and it was natural that the naval authorities should be on the look-out for regular means of supplying the loss. It would seem that the idea of founding a sort of "Britannia" in Christ's Hospital occurred first to the mind of Sir Robert Clayton, one of the greatest of the School's benefactors, whose family is still worthily represented among the Governors. It is indeed the old story over again. A prominent citizen with a zeal for philanthropic education suggests a plan to persons in authority, and finally the King takes all the credit. As the elder Gresham had sketched out the foundation of which Edward VI. became the Royal Founder, so here Sir Robert Clayton whispers in the ear of Clifford, the Lord Treasurer, and induces Sir Jonas Moore, Surveyor-General of the Ordnance, and no less a person than Mr. Samuel Pepys, Secretary of the Admiralty, to add their whispers to his. After a while, probably at the added instigation of James, Duke of York, then Lord High Admiral, there came forth Letters Patent of King Charles II. bearing date August 19th, 1673, called by courtesy "the five and twentieth yeare of oure Raigne." They are addressed to Osborne, who had been five months in office as High Treasurer, to the chancellor, chamberlains and barons of the Exchequer, to the officers of the Revenue and to the Mayor and Commonalty as trustees of the property of the Royal Hospitals, and their preamble is as follows :—

' Whereas itt would bee a worke of great piety and Charity in itt selfe and of extraordinary benefitt and advantage to all our dominions if such a distinct foundaçon were layd in the said Hospitall called Christs Hospitall and such an Establishment made as might bee a convenient provision for the mayntenance of forty poore Boyes in the said

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Hospitall whoe having attained to competence in the Grammer and Comon Arithmatique to the Rule of Three in other schooles of the said Hospitall may bee fitt to bee further educated in a Mathematicall Schoole and there taught and instructed in the Art of Navigaçon and the whole Science of Arithmatique until their age and competent proficiency in these parts of the Mathematiques shall have fitted and qualified them in the judgment of the Master of the Trinity House for the tyme being to bee initiated into the practices of Navigation and to bee bound out as Apprentices for seaven yeares to some Captaines or Comanders of Shippes, and that as soon as any shall dye or be Bound out Apprentices as aforesaid Care bee taken to supply theire number out of such other Poore Boyes within the said Hospitall as shall bee fitt for such kinde of Educaçon.'

With this in view the King ordains that there shall be in the Hospital a suitable schoolmaster, and that "Forty Poore Boys in Blew Coates," to be known by the name of "the Children of the New Royale Foundaçon," are to be selected from the main body of the scholars and are to wear a certain "kinde of Badges and Cognizances upon their Blew Coates." The expense of the Foundation is met by a grant out of the Exchequer of £1,000 yearly "during the terme of seaven yeares," and there is to be provided by the Governors "a convenient Place or Ward of Receipt and Entertainment" for these forty youths, together with proper "Diet and Lodging Apparell and other Attendance and Accommodaçon," not omitting "some honest Widdow or elderly Mayden" to look after their wants. The Mathematical Master must have a "Mansion" in the Hospital and the Governors must furnish the necessary "Bookes, Globbes, Mapps and other Mathematicall instruments" for the boys' instruction. At the age of sixteen, or, if the Master of the Trinity House shall see fit, before that time, the boys are to be bound as apprentices for seven years to the captain "of any of our Shippes" or to any "well-experienced Captayne" of any other ship, and the Governors must supply to such children "one compleate new Suite of Apparell fit for Sea Service." Finally provision is made

for a "visitation" of the master and his pupils twice a year at the least by some competent examiner.

It will be seen from this sketch of King Charles' arrangements for the foundation of what all Blues know familiarly as "the Mathemat" that the merry Monarch apparently gave it an endowment of £7,000, and Trollope describes this as "little indeed"; but the reader will probably wonder not that it was so little but that it was so much; he will remember that in 1672, the year preceding these Letters Patent, Charles had "closed the Exchequer" and had appropriated over one million sterling which had been lent to the Government by the bankers. What then could have induced the head of a riotous and expensive Court to disgorge £7,000 for the provision of naval apprentices? It is, in fact, the old story. The "Royal Founder" is ready with pen and paper, but his purse-strings are drawn tightly. The £7,000 was in reality only part of the generosity of a former Governor of the House, one Richard Aldworth. His will, of which the minutes of the Court-book are the only record, is dated December 21st, 1646; it gave the Governing Body certain lands in Northamptonshire, and all his estate not otherwise disposed of, in trust to maintain forty poor orphans in the School. It also appears from the records that the boys were to have a distinctive dress, a separate ward, and their own particular "master, nurse, and washerwoman" to attend to them. But the executors disputed the legacy and proceeded to fight the matter out in the Courts, nor were "the law's delays" any less wearisome under the Protector than at other times. So it was not till 1660 that any account was rendered of Aldworth's bequest. It then appeared that £240 was due to the Hospital in money, and that no less a sum than £7,427 was secured upon the arrears of Excise revenue—in other words, was invested in Government Securities. Hearing of this the Governors at once admitted the forty children in June 1660, giving them a separate nurse, but withholding the schoolmaster, because there was still a doubt whether these Government Securities were so secure after all. As a matter of fact, shortly after

the Restoration, all moneys charged on the security of Excise ceased to be paid out, and the Governors were driven in December to petition Parliament, which directed the whole sum to be given them out of the old Excise. But Parliament might direct and the Privy Seal might appear on writs, but the money was not forthcoming. The Governors had already been put to heavy expense in litigation and in the installation of the forty orphans; so in February 1662-3 the Court of the Hospital decided that they could not keep up Mr. Aldworth's work without Mr. Aldworth's money, and they distributed his "poor orphans" among the other wards of the Hospital. Yet how thankful the Governors were for the very least of the Stuart's mercies appears in an entry of January 1662. Charles had sent them a demand for trees from the Leesney Abbey estate, bequeathed to the Hospital in 1633—trees which were "to bee planted in Greenwich Park." He wanted "1000 of small burches aboute the biggnesse of a man's finger and 100 of bigger burches aboute the biggnesse of a man's rist with 50 small chessnutts and 100 young Elmes." He was pleased to offer satisfaction, but "haveing been very much oblidged to his Ma^{ty} concerning the guift of Richard Aldworth, Esq., deceased, they did not thinke it fitt to demand any satisfaction for the said Trees butt freely gave them to his Ma^{ty}"—an example which was quite lost on him. It is obvious that in the intervening period Sir Robert Clayton, through the Lord High Treasurer, "kept on pegging away" at the authorities with a view to recovering the money. It is more than possible that he urged the plan of using it to educate boys for the King's ships, because he was more likely to secure the principal on those conditions. At any rate, here is the result: The Letters Patent make over to the Governors £7,000, already theirs by right, and leave in the King's hands the balance of £427, also theirs by right. The King's bounty is celebrated by the painting of one of the largest pictures in the world, the work of "Signor Vario," the King's painter, and every "Mathemat" wears for evermore a badge with this legend, "Auspicio Caroli Secundi Regis."

But in spite of the King's name being attached to it, and of Clayton's and Pepys' zealous activity on its behalf, the "Mathemat" was in almost immediate difficulties. The first lot of youthful navigators were ready for sea in 1675, but the war with Holland came to an end in February 1674, and the naval establishment probably returned to a peace footing. Thus the employment of the "King's boys" in the mercantile marine, which the Letters Patent contemplated as a *pis aller*, became the general rule. But it was still involved in this difficulty, that the shipmasters regarded apprenticeship fees as a natural hope of gain, whereas, these being "poore boys," and the Governors having received no more than would maintain them while in the school, there remained no margin wherewith to pay the shipmaster's fee. To this dilemma Pepys refers in a letter of some years later, dated April 2nd, 1694, to be noticed again later. Here are the words in which he describes the trouble and the prompt measures the Admiralty took to provide a remedy :—

'Upon putting forth the first sett of children, in 1675, it was found that, notwithstanding all his majesty had at this house's desire done, by his letters recommendatory on their behalves to the principal societys of merchants in this city, the house was convinced of the little hopes to bee had of their being able well to dispose of these children, without something of money going along with them; which the house, not being in condition itself to bear, were pleas'd by Sir John Frederick, their then President, and a governor or two more, to communicate it to me, then Secretary of the Admiralty, but yet noe member of this house: Who, without other solicitation on their part, obtained for them soon after, under the Greate Seale, an establishment for ever of £370 10s. per annum, for the binding forth of these children to merchant masters only.'

Pepys takes the credit for this solid and speedy subsidy, which was confirmed by letters patent, dated January 24th, 1675. It was paid continuously up to 1883, when it was commuted for a lump sum, and is the one substantial piece of direct financial support which Christ's Hospital has ever received since its foundation from royal hands.

But there still remained the problem created by the comparative inadequacy of Charles' original endowment, and, as at the beginning, private benevolence at once offered its aid. Only, as the foundation was so bound up with the King's name, there was some doubt whether the monarch, who was obstinate even if merry, would resent such interference. It appeared, on inquiry being made through Sir L. Jenkins, that Charles "would be glad to see any gentleman graft upon his stock," and the first to do so was Henry Stone, of Skellingthorpe, a Governor of the House. During his lifetime, in July 1686, he executed "indentures of lease and release," making over his Hadleigh property to trustees, to pay the income to the Governors, "for educating poor children of the Hospital, and more especially such of them as were by the then new royal foundation there taught arithmetic and navigation." His will, dated July 6th, 1688, devised to the Hospital his Lincolnshire manor of Skellingthorpe, with a special proviso that £50 a year should be separated for the use of the Mathematical School, and this sum is still used for the purpose of buying books and mathematical instruments for the members of the Royal Foundation. It will be seen presently that the watchful eye of Mr. Pepys was upon this legacy, and that it became the cause of an angry correspondence.

Mr. Stone's gift was followed in 1690 by that of Mr. Daniel Colwall, another Governor of the Hospital. His benefaction consisted of an annuity of £62 8s., charged on the hereditary Excise, and a lump sum of £4,000. The latter came safely to hand in 1691, but the annuity has never been paid from the first day till now, and may safely be written off as a bad debt. "Don't forget," writes Pepys* to his friend Reeve† (March 15th, 1694), "what you promis'd of letting me see y^e copy of M^r Colwal's will," and it is possible that the zealous Secretary to "My Lords" was hoping to make the Excise disgorge the annuity for the good of his pet Foundation. If so, he failed.

* Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 20,732. † The Assistant Clerk to the Governors.

It is obvious that, with two such gifts as these, added to the yearly £1,000 allowed by the Crown, the Mathematical School had something to begin on ; in fact, everything now depended on the selection of a suitable master. In this particular, it must be admitted that the Governors were singularly unlucky. Nor can it be said that they were incompetent to choose, for they had the advice of Sir Jonas Moore, one of the best practical mathematicians of the day. Born in 1617, his life till the Restoration had been full of strange vicissitudes. With the return of the King, he had republished his "Arithmetick," adding to it "a new contemplation general on the ellipsis." He was knighted in 1663 after his survey of Tangier, and made Inspector-general of the Ordnance, which gave him a house at the Tower and made him a near neighbour to the Hospital.* His interest provided the Foundation not only with a watchful friend but with good class-books. Indeed, there is a naive and business-like letter from one Robert Scott, a publisher, to Samuel Pepys (November 4th, 1681), in which he complains, from the publisher's point of view, how remiss the Hospital was in teaching the boys "Sir Jonas his *Cursus*," and on Sir Charles Scarborough's authority maintains "that it would be a portion to each boy to have one when they went to sea." He suggests that Mr. Colwall, "being a good charitable person, and a great esteemer of the memory of Sir Jonas Moore, may be persuaded to give, annually, such a number of the books as need requires." The price, he kindly adds, he will leave to Scarborough and Pepys.

But, putting on one side the willingness of the publisher to do business, it is clear that all had not gone quite well with the education of the "King's Boys" or with their masters. Dr. Leake (or Leeke), the first elected, whose appointment dates from 1673, was evidently a failure. For he eked out his salary of £50 a year by taking private pupils, and discipline went to the winds. In fact, the tradition (to which the conduct of recent generations gives no colour)

* Cf. *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, s.v.

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that the "Mathemats" are a turbulent race, took its rise in the earliest years of their existence. Thus the minutes of a "Committee of Schooles," held on January 24th, 1678, have the following entry:—

'Whereas W^m Hawkes for severall notorious faults proved against him not only by the Steward but all his Masters & his Nurse after correction given him he was dismissed by this Committee out of the Mathematicall Schoole & his Badge taken off, the doing whereof this Committee hopes the Court will approve, all the rest of the Children having taken such notice thereof that there appears a very great reformation amongst (*sic*)'

The young antinomian was obviously being punished in part for his Master's deficiencies, and just a week previously the Committee had made up their minds that Leake was no good. They had him before them, and informed him that in future neither he nor any other Mathematical Master "shall teach any other scholars than the House children in the said school in the hours from seaven to eleaven in the morning and from one to five, which hours he must carefully observe." Evidently his care of his private pupils had meant neglect of his proper charge, for the Committee go on to insist that "he shall give correction to the children under his care when need requires," and then they descend to further details. He "shall sit publickly in the School teaching and interesting the children," and "not in a private closett." To compensate him for the loss of his private pupils, they offered him an increase of £20 a year; but Leake struck absolutely. "He told them he would not for £200 p. ann^m be obliged to sitt publickly in the schoole," and when they asked him how he expected to "observe the misdemeanours of the children" from his "closett," and to supply the necessary correction, "the want of which hitherto hath tended to the very overthrow of the said ffoundation," he was still of the same mind. The upshot may again be stated in the Committee's own words: "being demanded how long he would stay he answered, till Lady-Day next and noo longer." So they took him at his word, and the same Com-

mittee which took off the badge of the pupil took away the unused ferule of the Master; "they desire the Court to send for him and positively to acquaint him that he shall otherwise provide for himself at Lady Day, for that the Court are resolved to choose another man in his roome forthwith."

Nor is it right to blame the Governors for expecting a high standard both in master and pupils. Their idea of the former they put into shape immediately on Leake's retirement, and it does them no discredit. They required of the Master—

'1. That he be a sober discreet and diligent person of good life government and conversation.

'2. That he be a good schollar very wel understanding the Latine and Greek Languages to the end the boyes may be kept so, and furthered in the Latine tongue, and the Master able to answer straingers if need be in that Language.

'3. That he doe write a very good Scrivenor like hand, that dureing the time the Boyes shall stay with him he may be to them as good as a Writing Master. . . .

'4. That he be an able and very good Mathematician well knowing in the theory and practice of all its parts and soe ready that noe strainger from abroad or Practioners at home shalbe able to baffle him, but on the contrary shall finde his abillities to satisfaction.'

And this many-sidedness of the Master was expected to reappear in the pupils.

In the autumn previous to the event just recorded the Committee of Schools, attended as usual at this time by Mr. Pepys, had overhauled the whole system, and their report is based upon the assumption that these boys, as they "weare the King's badge," "lodge in the King's ward," "sitt at the King's table," and are "kept at the King's bounty," shall be correspondingly advanced in their studies. The "Mathemat" of to-day, whatever his other excellences, is no great Latinist, though some knowledge of the language is now imparted, but the Committee of 1677 require "the child's being able wth the help of a dictionary



THE OLD MATHEMATICAL SCHOOL
FROM A PRINT IN "FENNANT'S LONDON"

to Translate into English (and give a grammaticall acc^o of his soo dooing) Erasmus's Colloquyes, Cicero's Epistles, and any ordinary Mathematicall Author writ in that language, and to be able (with the like help only) to translate back again into true Grammaticall Latin." What they want is "(above all) to have the system of Mathematicks now providing for them by Sir Jonas Moore translated as soon as may be into Latin, and their lesson both read to and performed by them in that language."

Meanwhile Sir Jonas was busy preparing a series of class-books on Practical Geometry, Trigonometry, and Cosmography. When he comes to the preparation of his "Algebra" we are introduced to Dr. Leake's successor, Mr. Peter Perkins, who had been elected in 1679, the Court "being satisfied by Sir Jonas Moore" that he is "an excellent teacher of the Mathematicks," and who is now called in to assist Sir Jonas with his Algebra and his Euclid. But Sir Jonas himself died in 1679, and Perkins, who was then engaged on the volume on Navigation, followed him to the grave after being in office only a few months. The "Navigation" class-book was finally issued in 1681, two members of the family of Sir Jonas being assisted in the work by two great Mathematicians—Flamsteed, whom Sir Jonas had brought up to London and who was soon made a Governor of the Hospital, and Halley, a precocious Pauline, who lived close by the Hospital in Aldersgate Street and whose fame is also connected with the issue of Newton's *Principia*. In fact, it will be gathered that the King's Foundation had everything in its favour, an endowment, a plentiful supply of scientific instruments, a complete set of class-books,—everything except the requisite personal impulse which can only come from settled and sympathetic instruction. This, if he had lived, they might have found in Peter Perkins, for one of the very few facts which the journals mention about him shows only an excess of zeal. He got at cross purposes with the "assistant nurse to the forty children" and the quarrel came before the Committee for settlement. After what they always call "a considerable debate" they agreed "that it was

reasonable M^r Perkins should give notice to the nurse either by going to her or sending for her what night he intended the children which he shall name shall sitt up to make their observason of the Riseing and going downe of the Moone and Starrs, and to give her the names of such children in writeing, that soo she may take care that those children after that work is over may goo to their Bedds in due order, and that after he hath appointed the night if it shall prove cloudy he shall give timely notice to the said Nurse that he will not use the said children, that soo they may goo to bedd in due order with the rest."

But Perkins' untimely death again left the boys without a shepherd ; and again Mr. Pepys appears to have no little say in the appointment of a successor ; nor was "canvassing strictly forbidden." Pepys received on December 18th, 1680, a letter from one Thomas Sheridan, a suspected Papist connected with the Irish Executive, who writes "upon so slender a pretence as once dining with you, and meeting you elsewhere by such another accident." This apology introduces the statement that "Dr. Wood, my very good friend of many years' standing, is a candidate for mathematical reader at Christ Church Hospital." Sheridan urges not only that he is "a very honest gentleman," but, what was more to the point, a good mathematician, who had won the approbation of Oughtred ; and is further recommended for his knowledge "very extraordinary, of the revenue, wherein he has been already, and might be again, useful to his prince and country." Evidently the matter was taken into consideration, for ten days later Mr. Povey writes to Pepys to say that he has had a talk with Dr. Wood who was now "convinced that the matter was not indeed worth those inclinations he hath showed to it, and that he would rather now make a decent retreat than advance into a further competition." Nevertheless, this same Dr. Wood was elected in January 1680. His plan seems to have been to prove that the work of the office was as little "worth those inclinations" as the office itself. For the Committee, having presumably given him a free hand for a time, met again,

"Esq^r Pepys" among them, in September 1681. Colston, the examiner, now reported that the children were neglected, and one can imagine the Secretary of the Admiralty seizing the occasion to air his science by a few questions to the children. "Upon examination," say the minutes, they "were found to be very deficient in answering to what the D^r said he had taught them and particularly the Doctrine of the Globes. (The D^r alleadged that for some time he had an ague upon him which hindered him from attending the said children. Nevertheless he had constantly employed a man to looke after them)." But the Committee were not satisfied.

The man whom he "employed" was one Hodson, who is described in the Committee-book as "a person who by the manners of his conversation, indecencies in habit, looseness of manners, and publick exposing of his intemperance to the children has forfeited all sort of Awe from them to his discipline." Nor under these circumstances is it at all wonderful that the boys were not up to the standard of their work, which is described by Dr. Wood as follows:—

1. 'The practicall principles of geometry, viz. in describing of Lines, Angles, Parallells, Chords, Sines, Tangents, Triangles, Secants, and all sorts of plaine geometricall figures by Rular and Compasse.

2. 'The Division and proportionable Section of Lines with the use of the Diagonall Scale, and the Rule of Proportion in lines, the Dividing of the Circumference of a Circle, and the description of the Scale of Chords, Houres, Rhumbs, and Longitude.

3. 'Decimall Arithmetick with the Composition and Extraction of the Square Root.

4. 'The Doctrine of plaine Straitlined Triangles, with the use of the Table of naturall and artificial Sines Tangents and Secants, and also the Logarithms of Numbers.

5. 'Propositions of the Julian Calender with the common rules for finding the motion of the Sun, Moon, and Tydes.

6. 'A generall Rule for finding the Latitude of any place by the Sun or fixed Starrs.

7. 'Questions of plaine sailing with the use of the plaine Sea Chart.

8. 'The use of Mr Gunter's Scale.
9. 'The doctrine of the Globes.
10. 'The Projection of the Sphere or Circles of the Globe on a plaine divers wayes.'

But things were "slack" in spite of this formidable curriculum, and the Committee decided that they would meet monthly to keep the Doctor up to the mark. It is worth while to notice that their November meeting attacked the favourite "C. H." topic of handwriting, and they resolved that "each of the children shall write one peece a weeke faire and present it to the Committee with the day of the month when they wrote the same." However, something worse than bad writing was the matter, and Dr. Wood left in the summer of 1682.

He was succeeded by Mr. Edward Pagett, who devoted the next thirteen years to the neglect of his duties, and brought about almost a deadlock in the work of the Foundation. It is only fair to say that the Committee thought they had done well in selecting Pagett, who was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; and when his salary was fixed at £100 a year he "promised by the blessing of GOD faithfully and carefully to discharge the place, which gave the Court great satisfaction." But one person was far from satisfied and was breathing vengeance. This was Mr. Richard Norris, one of the unsuccessful candidates. A few days after Pagett had begun his work, Mr. Norris was at the Gresham Lectures and found himself near some "Mathemats," who reported to the Committee of July 9th, 1682, that his conversation was as follows. He first asked them what Pagett had taught them, and was told some geometry and some algebra. "He made answer"—so their record runs—"that, when we came to Trinity House to be examined, we should not come off, for we should be examined by him in that which neither we nor our Master ever heard off." He concluded by being rude enough to say, "Mr. Pagett stands in need of a rope dictionary," and showed his hand by asserting "that if the Governors had but tried them that Petiōned for the place in

Navigation he himself should have had the place." At the same time there may be some connexion between his grievance and the fact that in a few months Pagett had leave "to go to sea to view the coaste" for three months, either at Easter or Whitsuntide, with a hint that he had better take it.

But whatever may have been Pagett's defects, they were part and parcel of a time of general laxness in the management of the Hospital, which, as it has no parallel at any other period, serves only to show up the general carefulness with which resources have at all times been husbanded and wisely employed. This lax period synchronises with the Treasurership of Nathaniel Hawes, from 1683 to 1699. The unkindness of over-indulgent praise was never more aptly displayed than in the inscription on Hawes' memorial tablet in the cloisters, which calls him—*lucus a non lucendo*—"a careful and faithful Treasurer of Christ's Hospital." It is obvious that very early in Hawes' tenure of office Pepys had taken the measure of his incompetence and had decided not to have his official strictness besmirched by the evil communications of Hawes' carelessness. The Secretary to the Admiralty retired to his den at York House, and waited for the Hospital to invite him out. Trollope* suggests that "the Revolution of 1688 had been the means of interrupting" Pepys' personal attention to the affairs of the Foundation. But, in the first place, it would require more than the Revolution to entice Pepys from his official duties, among which he reckoned the care of the "Mathemats"; and, as a matter of fact, Mr. Hawes was actually in correspondence with him on May 1st, 1688, or just midway between the day on which the Declaration of Indulgence was published (April 27th) and that on which came the order that it should be read in the churches (May 4th). If public excitement were any excuse for neglect of duty, there was plenty of it at that moment. Hawes' letter gave Pepys exactly the handle he wanted. "Worthy, most honoured Sir,"† he writes to the great man, "on supposal no

* *Hist. Christ's Hospital*, p. 81.

† *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 20,732.

needful care be wanting for the utmost improvement of the forty boys of his late Majesty's Foundation in their skill in mathematics and navigation, nor any diminution nor alienation of the least part of the revenues or other provision," will Pepys be good enough to get his Majesty's permission for admitting to the Mathematical School "a greater number of the children than these forty"? Well, it is pretty certain that during that fatal week in the beginning of May, 1688, King James II. was not in a fit state to be troubled with any nicely calculated less or more in regard to the "Mathemats" of Christ's Hospital, and the political *impasse* probably gave Pepys just the opportunity he wanted for bringing pressure to bear on Mr. Treasurer Hawes, who had already had five years in which to display his want of fitness for his important office. Pepys maintained his watchful interest in all that was going on by the help of his cousin, Major Aungier, a member of the "Committee of Schooles." The very boys themselves seemed to know that they had an active friend in the Secretary to the Admiralty. For instance, Pepys took up his pen at " $\frac{3}{4}$ past 8 at night" on August 12th, 1696, to write to "M^r Steward" as the officer in general charge. "Your two late runaways," he wrote, "are (I am told) at my door, and by my Porter I understand their business to be to obtain my leave to open some complaints." But Pepys refused to see them, and contented himself with a parting rebuke to the general management, being "grieved to hear what your whole neighbourhood rings of, touching the present discipline of the School these boys relate to."

As a matter of fact, his active interference had begun again three years before. On March 1st, 1693, on the invitation of the Treasurer, he sent his views to Mr. Parrey, the Clerk. "I had thought all occasion over for your being troubled more from this hand of mine that I think has not appeared to you on any of the affaires of the Hospitall now for more than ten years." Still, as his opinion had been asked, he was willing to give it; but he wanted certain information first on some six different points: "A table of times heretofore assigned for the stay of the children in their

severall schooles. The instructions of the Gramar and Mathⁿ Masters. Their first and present salaries. My paper of generall Reflections and advice to the House (I have forgot in what yeare). The value of the yearly revenue settled by the Crown and private benefactors on the Foundation. The yearly charge and balance sheet and a statement showing what real estate has been acquired." It will be of interest to follow the fate of these fairly natural and pertinent questions. Four weeks later (March 29th) they were considered by the Committee, and, "the officers being all full of business," the answers were postponed till after Easter. Another month passed and (April 26th) the Committee, "having severall businesses of moment to dispatch," appointed a sub-committee to deal with "Esq. Pepys'" queries, very much as a latter-day Government resorts to a Royal Commission. By May 23rd something had actually been done. Mr. Parrey presented his "account," and Mr. Reeve, the Receiver, presented his; but the two did not agree, and an order was therefore given that a joint account should be prepared. Yet another month, and on June 21st, "this day 7 night" was fixed for a consideration of their answer. "This day 7 night" came and, "for as much as there is but a small appearance," they postponed it for another week. On July 5th the Committee actually debated the question and, "finding his (Pepys') inquiries are of great moment," they referred them to the General Court, which met on August 18th and referred the answers back to the Committee. The latter, on October 11th, considered them paragraph by paragraph. They entered it on their minutes that they "did think it very advisable and necessary not to disoblige the said Esq^r Pepys in anything, especially in whatsoever concerns the Mathematicall Foundation." But, lest there should be any great haste, they again asked the Court for instructions as to how they should answer the different heads of Pepys' questions. At last, on November 15th, the Committee felt themselves in a position to order that "all these articles" should be "answered by giving a true and just account of all receipts and payments." As the

"articles" were dated March 1st and the answers November 15th, and no attempt was made to deny Pepys' right to put in his questions, it is scarcely to be wondered at that he had a grievance. Pepys, however, began again early in 1694, and we are now able to follow his action closely by means of the ample set of autograph* letters preserved in the British Museum. His plan was to have friends on the spot, such as Mr. Reeve, and his "coz," Captain Aungier, and his settled purpose was to have a proper scheme for Mr. Stone's gift. So on March 15th he tells Reeve to jog "M^r Trear's" memory about this proposal, and "don't forget what you promis'd of letting me see y^e copy of M^r Colwal's will." This has the result of bringing an answer from Hawes the very next day. "If we had only known," says Hawes in effect, "that you were so keen about it, we would have opened up communications before this"; as it is, it must be postponed till after the Visitation. But, he goes on, "Sir, our sub-committee of schooles, upon reasonable grounds as they esteem them, have postponed the visitation to y^e Passion Week," and Pepys restrained his impatience, and on the same paper sent word by the Treasurer's messenger that he was willing "to respite for soe little a while ye troubling yr court." The next letter, as being intended for presentation to the assembled Governors, is written in Mr. Pepys' best copperplate, which, by the way, was very good indeed. It is dated April 2nd, 1694. "Holy Week" is now begun, and the visitation is taking place; but Pepys must "unbespeak your expectations of my assistance at it from an impediment you are noe stranger to." "Nor, indeed," he goes on, "should I (I doubt) be much forwarder in it were I otherwise at liberty; while I think upon the affliction our last meeting, on a like occasion, cost me, notwithstanding the amends you many months agoe told me Mr. Pagett had made since his return for the ill effects of his absence." Briefly what he wants is a drastic improvement in the system of examination, "an account from our examiners, under their hands, of each distinct Child's

* Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 20,732.

proficiency in every of the Articles of Instruction apart, enjoy'd for their learning, with the Grounds and Demonstrations of the same." Even Mr. Halley, apparently, had given a report which was "entirely rejected, for its too generalness." And then follows a sentence which testifies to the thoroughness of Pepys' system of interference. "I have prepared, and here enclose you, transcripts of the particular instructions soe to be by them (the examiners) especially regarded in their examinations, with respect to the children, *as well of the Grammar, as Mathematical Schoole.*" He closes with two broad hints on matters that he was constantly pressing. He wants to have a private visitation of the children himself at York House, and the settling of the scheme for the Stone bequest will depend upon "my report" of "the children's proficiencies."

While "Mr. Treasurer" is considering this ultimatum, Pepys goes quietly on with his efforts to secure the practical working of the Foundation. On Easter Eve, April 17th, he writes to Mr. Hunter, of Trinity House, asking him "to look over y^e indentures entered into at y^e Boys being bound out (which I suppose you have by you bundled up)," and sends him in official exactness a printed list of those who have gone to sea, with notes "of y^e particular year wherein each boy's apprenticeship severally expires." Hunter is "to sett a tick at each Boy's name whose Indentures have been taken up; leaving y^e rest untick'd." Pepys will thus get an idea of the permanent good derived from the training given at the Hospital. The Monday following (Easter Monday) he is bothering Reeve, the assistant clerk, for a new list of Governors, which is to be sent to him "by one of your beadles," and, after signing himself "your very loving friend," he returns in a postscript to the old subject, which is sore enough to make havoc of his diction: "I have yet heard nothing of the Answer you told me the other day from Mr. Treārer I might expect some time from him to my last." Next day comes a letter from Treasurer Hawes to Mr. Pepys with as little satisfaction as usual. Five boys, he says, have passed the Trinity House examination and will be leaving

too soon to be personally tested by Pepys. So, "to prevent the hazard of a forfeiture," let Pepys reply at once "about Mr Stone's business." It is a pretty game at cross purposes. The Secretary to the Admiralty wants his perquisite as a private examiner of the "King's boys," and the Treasurer is anxious to secure the use of Mr. Stone's legacy. Take Pepys' next important deliverance, the letter of May 4th, 1694, which occupies six of Trollope's ample pages, and is too long to give in full here. He taunts the Governors with the many months of delay in answering his questions; he sets his own "applications" against the "industrys on the other side," which had "been practis'd, for the preventing me in it"; he takes "leave to tell you, that as farr as the account and papers, handed by the Treasurer to you, and from you to me, are to be relied on, I cannot observe one single article left unviolated through its whole constitution"; but as to Mr. Stone's gift he has "respired the delivering any opinion."

It must have been an aggravating letter to receive, but there is no doubt of the inefficient state into which the Mathematical School was sunk, nor yet of the reason for it. Poor Hawes, who had just confessed in a letter to Pepys (April 24th, 1694, Brit. Mus.) that he "grew very old," tried hard to make the best of the case. "I thank GOD," he says, "I have daily demonstrations that we doe not decline in our Reputations," and "we are not in soe unhappy and il state as your Hon^r is pleased (I hope without just ground) to conclude." But Pepys knew his facts, and he could put his finger on the reason. Pagett, the great Trinity mathematician, on whom the Committee had set their hopes, was a shuffler, and the Committee had been hopelessly weak in conniving at his shuffling. We have seen already that soon after his appointment he received leave to go and "view the coast," in other words to take a sea voyage, and his appetite for leave grew by what it fed on. It was probably in order to satisfy this desire that in June 1689, though the numbers in his school had not increased, he applied for an assistant. What became of the application is not quite clear, but the Committee went as far as a resolution that "Mr Nuton Professor



THE HALL-PLAY AND CHRIST CHURCH TOWER

of the Mathematicks and one of the fellowes of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge" should be asked to report on the qualifications of Linwood and Fletcher, two "Blues" then at the University. But at the end of May 1692 Pagett actually "requested the Com^o to give him liberty to be absent from his schoole for four or five months, having some occasion to goo over to fflanders and Holland, and he will recommend a very fit and able person to supply his place in his absence"; and the complaisant Committee, "concluding (if it shall please GOD to spare his life) that his goeing abroad may conduce much to the further improvement and advantage of the boyes under his care," reported to the Court that he had better be allowed to go. It would seem that Dutch William was in vogue in the Hospital at the time, for a few months previously a child of "Samuel and Mary Mountford" had been christened in Christ Church by the simple name "Myn-heer." William was then in the middle of his Dutch campaign, and Pagett no doubt arrived in time to see his sovereign defeated at Steinkirk on August 3rd, 1692. Anyhow he enjoyed his summer outing so much that in the May following he asked permission to repeat it, and this time implied that he occupied some official post in the public service. The minute (May 31st, 1693) says that he asked "liberty for about four months to goo over into Flanders, being sent for thither by the Dean of Winchester * for the service of the Publick, and he will take care that his place shall be supplied in his absence by a sufficient and able man at his owne cost and charge, w^{ch} (if the Com^o pleases to grant) he hopes will be a meanes to gain him selfe more experience in the Practick parts of navigation and fortification, and also strengthen and confirme him in his health, w^{ch} was restored unto by his goeing abroad the last yeare." Again the Committee, "after a very large and solemne debate," referred the matter to the Court, which granted

* I am indebted to the present Dean for the suggestion that this is Dean Wicart, a Dutchman, and one of William's chaplains. He was installed January 1693, rarely resided in Winchester, but may have placed some pieces of Dutch glass in the Deanery windows.

Pagett leave on June 2nd, 1693. The only sign of grace is the understanding arrived at "that he will never desire the like thing for the future." Yet he did desire it, as a letter from Major Aungier to Pepys clearly shows (Brit. Mus., July 12th, 1694); but this time "the Court have positively denied him." Finally Pagett fell ill and was "for many days sick of a fever"; no substitute was provided by him or put in by the Committee, and when he recovered he found that the best thing he could do was to resign. It was high time.

But, before his successor was appointed, Pepys thought it would be well to have an independent examination into the state of the King's boys and their knowledge. So he wrote to the Governors on January 20th, 1695, to say that he had asked Mr. Tollet, "Secretary to the Honourable the Commissioners appointed by Parliament for taking the public accounts," to be the examiner; and the Treasurer replied that the Governors had not the slightest objection. When the election of a new Mathematical Master came on there were five candidates, the chief of whom were Caswell, an Oxonian, and Samuel Newton, who received "a good character" from "M^r Isaac Newton." This and the fact that he professed to "understand the Latin tounge very well," carried the day for Samuel Newton. But Sir Isaac's testimonial was as trustworthy as most others. Six months later, when the Committee had already begun to doubt whether they had got the right man, the great Professor writes to explain away his praises. "I never took him" [Samuel Newton], he says, "for a deep Mathematician, but recommended him as one who had Mathematicks enough for your business with such other quallifications as fitted him for a Master in respect of temper and conduct as well as learning." He then goes on to discount his whole evidence; for "I was almost a stranger to him when I recommended him, yet since he was elected, I reckon myself concerned that he should answer my commendation." But this was just what Samuel Newton failed to do. He tried to push on the work for a time, but his temper was clearly none of the best. The two runaways who found their way, as before related, to Pepys' office,

wanted to complain both of the labours and the "lashings" inflicted on them by Newton, and had been encouraged to "chase" by their nurses' sympathy. The Committee had one of their "solemn debates" over this incident, and "ordered M^r Newton not to use any such thing as a fferillo in his schoole for the future but rather as there is occasion to lash them," which apparently he did. Still, as years went on, and especially in 1707 and 1708, the teaching failed to bring the boys up to the standard. When the Trinity House examiners complained of their inefficiency, Newton persuaded the Committee that the "Mathemats" were not given a fair chance, and the Committee (June 9th, 1708) ordered Newton to attend the examination himself "and by that meanes prevent the boyes being imposed on in any manner of wise." Alas! at the next examination (December 3rd, 1708) all his five candidates were sent back as inefficient and "more ignorant in their business than any others that have of late years come before them." Then there was a hastily summoned meeting of the Committee, and Newton "delivered in writing under his own hand the paper following." It is better worth putting on record than anything else in his story.

'Gentlemen,

'I have had the Honour of being Master of the Royall Foundation for almost fourteen years, during which terme I am not conscious of any neglect of my duty even for one day. I now begin to find the truth of what Solomon once declared that a Morsel of Bread in peace is better than a stalled oxe with strife and contention, and humbly beg leave to assure your Worp^d that as it was a great pleasure and satisfaction to me, when I was chosen into this office, that I leave the same with as great a satisfaction, and humbly hereby resigne the said office to be disposed of as your Worp^d (according to your wonted prudence) think most proper for the Royall Foundation.'

And that is the last of Samuel Newton, except a resolution passed early in January 1709 that he is to be out of his official residence "in fourteen dayes at the farthest."

Still, if it failed to realise all that Mr. Pepys expected of it, there is no reason for supposing that the Mathematical Foundation was doing nothing at all. Year after year the captains of the Mercantile Marine were willing enough to have the boys as apprentices, and more exalted sailors showed their readiness to have them in their service, as one or two instances will show. "I have now the honour," wrote Sir Francis Wheeler in 1691, "to command the *Albemarle*, and am very desirous to have one of the Mathematicall boyes . . . by assignement. I had about a yeare ago one that was bred up to accompts by you, and I found him so quick and so hopefull that upon his death I was very sorry, which leads me to beg the favour that you'll please oblige me with one, and I'll engage in any security to breed him according to your institution . . . and onely desire him to be well provided with two suits of Clothes and Linnen." Admiral Russell had another boy at the same time on the same terms, and both officers received the thanks of the House, which saved itself the usual leaving allowance in each case.

Of course, neither shipmasters nor apprentices were always equally well pleased with each other, and that sort of event is more likely to be put on the records than the many cases where all went right and nothing went wrong. An instance of each sort must suffice. A shipmaster came to the Committee in 1708 and reported that one Richard Gibbins, who had been apprenticed to him, had absconded within a year, and "hee hath very good reason to believe that he is married to a daughter of Nurse Coles, by name Elizth, & that, soon before he went out of the Hospitall." This terrible indictment, of course, resulted in an oration to all the nurses about the wickedness of "harbouring" their daughters in their rooms. But the fault was not always with the "Mathemat." He often found that he had to deal not only with his captain, but with a "power behind" his captain. Take the comical case of a boy called Burchard. He had been bound to Admiral Sir Thomas Dilks, who died within two years. So the Committee (November 19th, 1708) sent to ask Lady Dilks for the lad's indentures. "But she hapned to be soo

indisposed that she could not be spoke with, but being acquainted with the business by one of her servants, she sent down word that she would not part with the Indenture, and that she would send to Captain Hogg, Comander of the *Rupert* (in which ship the said young man was entered) to have him prickrun for absenting himself from on board the said ship." It is to be hoped for the boy's sake that the "further measures" taken by the Committee brought this disconsolate widow to her senses.

Meanwhile there are signs of effort to make the education of the "Mathemats" both more practical and more systematic. In 1705 their schoolroom contained two full-rigged ships. John Green was paid £6 for "the new Rigging of the Ship which stands in a case in the Mathematicall Schoole" (February 16th, 1705), and "23 guineys" went to a man at Woolwich for the construction of a new ship (March 16th, 1705). Mr. Ditton, one of the masters, had "a good pair of globes" in prospect at a cost of £5, and was allowed to buy them. As for the general system, of which an account has already been given as it was laid down in Dr. Wood's time, it underwent a close revision in 1694-6, apparently at Pagett's suggestion and by the connivance of Pepys. The advice of the Professors of Mathematics at Oxford and Cambridge was sought for in the matter, and Isaac Newton's answer occupies eight closely written pages (472-9) of the Committee Book. In it he criticises the old scheme with some severity: it put Arithmetic much too late, "for a man may understand and teach Arithmetic without any other skill in Mathematicks, as Writing Masters usually doe, but without Arithmetick he can be skilled in noe other part of Mathematicks." In fact, he implies, several articles of the former schedule seem out of place, as though they "set them downe by chance as they first thought upon them," and there is a great lack of good teaching in Mechanics, in which connexion he refers to "the great advantage the French at present have above all other nations in the goodness of their engineers." The revised scheme of 1696, drawn up by Sir Matthew Andrews, is as

follows; and it will be noticed that Newton's advice had some effect; indeed he came as a Governor and a member of the Committee of Schools to see the result at the Visitation of September 1697.

'1. Arithmetick in Integers, Vulgar & Decimal fractions, the extraction of Roots, Square & Cube, & the use of Logarithms.

'2. The Principles of Geometry in the Delineation and mensuration of Planes and Solids with the application thereof.

'3. Plain and spherical Trigonometry, Geometrically, Arithmetically and instrumentally performed in all the various cases of rectangular & obliquangular Triangles.

'4. The use of the Globes Celestial & Terrestrial with the stereographick projection of the sphere upon the plain of any great circle.

'5. Spherick triangles applyed to the solution of all the usefull problems in Astronomy for finding the suns amplitude Azimuth and Variation of the Compass. As also to the solution of all propositions in geography in all the four various scituations of places, commonly called great circle sayling.

'6. Plainsayling (viz^t) the construction and use of the plain Sea Chart in all the cases thereof, the working of Traverses, the solution of all plain Sayling questions geometrically, Arithmethically & Instrumentally, with absolute directions for keeping a Journall at Sea, and to correct the Ships dead reckoning, by observing the Sun or any fixed Starr upon the Meridian, with the application of Plain Triangles to oblique Sailing, & the Doctrine of Currents.

'7. Mercators sailing to be done in all respects as Plain Sailing in Article 6,—with the true use of the Logline & $\frac{1}{2}$ minute glass.

'8. To find the quantity of a degree upon any great circle. The use of instruments proper for observing the Ships latitude at Sea, As the Cross Staffe, Quadrant, and other necessary Instruments as the Sector & Gunter's Rulér.

'9. The Construction & use of right-lined & circular Mapps, the practice of Drawing for laying down the appearances of Lands, Towns, and other objects of notice.

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'10. The use of the Calendar with the Common Rules for finding the course of the Sun, Moon, & Tides, with soo much of gunnery as is necessary for Sea Service.'

It is obvious that this second schedule means a considerable advance in the boys' studies on the side of practical navigation. The only difficulty was pointed out by Isaac Newton, that the two years prescribed for it made thoroughness almost impossible, and he expressed his regret that under these circumstances "four or five yeares of the children's time" should be given to the learning of Latin. This effort to maintain the classical standard of the "Mathemats" has already been referred to, and it was clearly not relaxed at the period with which we are dealing, as several items on the minutes go to show. It was agreed (January 29th, 1689) "that pursuant to the direction of M^r John Flamsteed, a member of this House, each boy in the Mathematicall Schoole, or in the Writing Schoole preparing for the Mathematicall Schoole, shall have a Latine Testament of Bezell's [Beza's] Translation, for the better preserving of their Latine, when they are out of the Gramar Schoole." Possibly the young "salts" were not quite as diligent in their reading of Holy Writ as the Committee hoped; for there is soon a further resolution (February 8th, 1692) that "the Boyes in the Mathematicall Schoole from time to time shall have Lattine Common Prayer bookes to make use of at Church for preservation of their Lattine." But it is possible that Newton's advice had some effect later. In 1708 the Hospital made its appearance as a book-publisher. A few years earlier a certain Mr. Edward Brewster had "bought and given to the use of the Hospitall" a book called *Synopsis Algebraica*. The "first impression" was reported to be "now almost spent," and the Committee ordered Mr. Newton (*i.e.* Samuel Newton) and Mr. Ditton, the master of the New Mathematical School, which had been added to the original foundation by means of Mr. Stone's gift, to revise and correct the book, and "translate it into English, in order to have the same re-printed and made of more generall and publick use." It

was hoped (June 9th, 1708) that "the advantage arising therefrom may defray the charge of the impression." The Committee ordered 750 copies in Latin and 1,000 in English, Samuel Cobb, the under grammar master, receiving "10 guineys" for his translation, and it was arranged to sell the books to three specified booksellers at half a crown a copy "in sheets." It is a sign not only of their prudence but of a relaxation of their classical zeal.

On the whole, then, it is clear that King Charles' Foundation for its first thirty or forty years had a somewhat chequered success. It produced a number of "skilful and knowing marriners" (the phrase is Pagett's), but it did not add greatly to the personnel of the Royal Navy. When Mr. Commissioner Pett wrote in 1695 from "the Navy Office" to inquire about "such children of the Royal Foundation in Christ's Hospitall that has attained to any charge (either of Comānder or Leiv^t-Master or otherr Commission or Warrant Officer) in his Ma^{ties} Navy," Mr. Parrey was ordered to draw up a "satisfactory answer." But he could not make bricks without straw, and, when his report was presented, it was not "soe satisfactory as the Com^{ee} expects," so they "ordered him to informe himself further." The fact, of course, was that the regulations of the Letters Patent, while good enough in themselves, were often a hindrance to the obtaining of useful employment for the King's boys. Thus in 1692 the Lords of the Admiralty applied for some of them to be bound apprentices to "M^r Dummer, Master Builder of the King's Yard at Woolwich," and were told that the "Letters Patent forbid it to any but Comānders of Ships."

The inefficiency of the early teachers of the "Mathemats" was redeemed by one famous appointment in the latter half of the eighteenth century. They had been mathematicians. William Wales was a sailor as well as a mathematician, and to the ordinary observer the sailor in him was the more obvious of the two. "All his systems," says Lamb, whose school days fell during the Wales *régime* (1775-98), "were adapted to fit them for the rough element which they were

destined to encounter. . . . To make his boys hardy, and to give them early sailor habits, seemed to be his only aim ; and to do this everything was subordinate." Which indeed does the man much less than justice. For Wales' sea-going had been in a scientific direction. He had been sent by the Royal Society to the Arctic Regions to observe a transit of Venus in 1769 and he had sailed the Southern Seas with Captain Cook. And a minute of 1786 shows that he was impatient of anything in his department that was needlessly antiquated. "Several of the Books and Charts, given to the R.M.S. Boys at their going out," he told the Governors, "are useless on account of the great Improvements in the Practice of Navigation." "The Quadrants and other Instruments given to them are of the most ordinary kind." At his instigation "*La Caille's Astronomy*, *Atkinson's Epitome of Navigation*, the *Sea Gunner's Companion*, the Variation Chart, and the twelve-leav'd Book of Charts" were discontinued, and the "Price thereof, being about twenty-one shillings," was added to the value of the quadrant and other instruments.

In regard to the relations between the boys and ships' captains, the Governors must be given credit for endeavouring to prevent abuses of various sorts. In 1719 they found that "Mathemats" were promising themselves to serve commanders "without the privity or consent of the Treasurer," which "not only tends greatly to the Corruption of the Boys, but is a manifest contempt of the Government of the House." They therefore ordered that "for the future the Master of the Royal Math^l School shall not permitt any Governor Capt or Comander of any ship, or any other on their Behalfe, to come into his School to contract or agree with any of his Boys," without first consulting the Treasurer. At the same time the commanders were told not to give "encouragement to any boy . . . to come on board [their] ship or Vessell on pretence of seeing his schoolfellows." Again, the Governors endeavoured to secure for the boys such ships as would give them a satisfactory training ; for example, it was found in 1735 that the "Mathemats" were being

"inveagled" on to "small coasting vessels and Store Ships of 120 or 130 Tons," and so were "very often ill provided for"; whereupon it was agreed, though the rule was not universally kept, that 200 Tons' burden should be the lowest limit. A still more serious evil came to the Governors' notice in 1770. "Great misfortunes," they found, "have happen'd to several Boys, apprentices to Commanders of Guardships in the Royal Navy, in which service the Boys cannot be improved in the practice of Navigation, and likewise not being fully employ'd idly spend great part of their time on Shore in a seaport-town, in which situation they are expos'd to great dangers which may unfortunately occasion [their] ruin." So they took the obvious remedy of forbidding any "Mathemats" to be bound apprentices to port guardships in future.

The greatest hindrance to the good reputation of the "Mathemats" was not removed till the nineteenth century. Their occasionally riotous and always insolent behaviour is elsewhere alluded to. It was largely due to the fact that they were herded together in one ward. There came a time when only the principle of "Divide et Impera" could quell them. The late Canon Buckle not long before his death was kind enough to give me his recollections on the subject. He happened about 1830 to be placed in "No. 1," from which the unruly sea-urchins had been recently expelled. "Naturally," wrote Canon Buckle, "they thought themselves fine fellows, affected the traditionary bluntness of sea manners, and looked down on the rest of the school as their inferiors." Rumour said that strange doings and wild licence went on in "No. 1" ward. Anyhow they were "scattered" among the rest of the wards. Canon Buckle added that the Nurse, "Mother Robinson," a stout and vigorous old lady, preserved to the last her regret for the piping times, when she had been responsible for the Mathematical crew. The "King's School" lost its unruly prestige after this revolutionary change, though "Blues" still living can remember the ferocious vigour with which they went round the wards at certain seasons, crying, "Who's for the Royal Mathematical School?"



THE KING'S FOUNDATION



STONE'S FOUNDATION



STOCK'S FOUNDATION

BADGES

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS SENT BY "NAVY AND ARMY ILLUSTRATED"

But, considering how much of the history of the "Mathemats" belongs to the region of the heroic and romantic, it will be well to drop suddenly into the indubitable and dry-as-dust statements of a Royal Commissioners' report. In the fourth year of King William IV. Christ's Hospital saw the first appointment of Charity Commissioners, of whom two, Mr. Wrottesley and Mr. Smith, presented their report in the first year of Queen Victoria, indeed ten days after her accession to the throne. They, of course, devote some space to King Charles' Foundation, and this is the gist of their account. They found the school in February 1837 under the charge of "M^r Webster," who had lately been promoted from the Junior Mathematical Mastership in succession to the Rev. G. J. Brookes. "Webster" is still a name to conjure with to Blues who are now getting on in life, and there are some who tell you that the visions of their head about their bed still trouble them the night before the morning on which they used to be "in to Webster." The Commissioners found under Mr. Webster 40 "King's" or "Royal" boys, and 10 under Stone's gift; the two places under Stock's gift were both vacant, and on the foundations of Travers and Holditch there were only 39 instead of 50. They found the custom to be that boys were admitted to the "Mathemat" from the rest of the school on their own or their parents' application, that the limits of age were eleven and twelve and a half years, and that the first step in the sea-going Blue's career was to join Mr. Stone's foundation. At the same time, as certain special advantages were assured, it was demanded that the parents should enter a special bond with the Lord Mayor, as titular trustee, that the boy should behave decently and obey the rules of the school, and that within one month after passing his examination before the Master of the Trinity House he should be apprenticed to the Sea-service in some form or other, as might be agreed upon between the ship-master and the Governors. The Commissioners also give details of the studies pursued in the school. Thus, if a Stone's boy in half a year worked his arithmetical way "from the rule of three to cube root inclusive," he was

certain of ultimately becoming a "King's boy"; otherwise he lost his chance. The moment he had learnt some Euclid he entered the magic circle of "the forty." The books and employments of these latter are given by the Commissioners in some detail. "Bonnycastle's Algebra, Bland's Equations, and Wood's or Hind's Algebra"; "plane trigonometry, plane and globular sailing, spherical trigonometry, the use of the globes, problems on the sphere, and nautical astronomy, including the use of the Nautical Almanac, the quadrant, sextant, and azimuth compass," for Lord Kelvin was still in his earlier "teens." The class-books in geography, grammar, and general knowledge included "Simson's Euclid, a M.S. plane, and a M.S. spherical trigonometry, Robertson's Inman's, and Riddle's Treatises on Navigation, Pinnock's Catechism of Geography, Guthrie's Grammar of Geography, Butler's Atlas, Goldsmith's Grammar and English History, and Hume's History." The "Mathemats" occupied a considerable portion of the drawing-master's time, and apparently wanted more technical instruction than he was able to give them; still they received training in the construction of naval charts, maps, and plans, the drawing of ships, headlands, lines of coast, etc. In "perspective" they had to be content with general rules. A "tolerable chart and black-lead drawing" formed the limit with the majority, but some "attained sufficient proficiency to enter upon water-colours." As to the output of boys at this time, the Commissioners express it in terms of twenty in each period of two years, an average of five after each half-yearly examination. It is noted also that Trinity House had passed all the boys sent up by Mr. Webster. At the same time, owing to illness or other causes, the number of "King's boys" sometimes fell short, and the quota to be sent to sea was made up by including youngsters under fifteen. Also "the other causes" must be confessed to have included shuffling, for, as we have seen, the Supplementary Act of Charles II. allowed each boy £37 as wages; some of them made sure of their wages and made flotsam of their work. It was therefore arranged that one year's instalment should be paid when

the indentures were signed; the balance was only given when at the end of three years the "Mathemat" came back with his log-book and journals, and satisfied the master of his knowledge of navigation.

As to the general success of these lads the Commissioners are not very enthusiastic. Many of them had done well, but "many are not so fortunate as to gain a situation worthy of their attainments and the care bestowed on their instruction." It is remarkable and hardly complimentary to the Royal Foundation that the Crown had never up to 1837, and still less since, put in a claim to the seventh year of the "Mathemats'" sea-service, as arranged for in Charles II.'s Letters Patent. However hardly it might fall on a ship-master to have his complement lessened by the Admiralty exercising their right, the "King's boys" would certainly have benefited by such an official acknowledgment of their existence and their use. Many of the lads rose to eminence in the naval service of "John Company," notably Captain Shea, whose portrait hangs in the Court Room and who became a Governor and Almoner, bequeathing to the Hospital several pictures of the person and exploits of the famous Commodore Sir Nathaniel Dance. But the abolition of the grade of "Master" in the Royal Navy, and the expenses connected with cadetships have made it necessary as a rule for "Blues" to seek entrance as assistant-clerks or engineer-students, where they render useful service but stop short of fame. The latest figures show that the instruction they receive has redeemed the discredit of the first mathematical masters. Thirty-eight boys have entered the Royal Navy since 1882. Of these, eight gained cadetships, nine qualified as engineer students and twenty-one as assistant clerks. In the same period more than seventy have joined the Merchant Service, of whom two have obtained commissions in the Navy and several are members of the Royal Naval Reserve.

The 1890 scheme of the Charity Commissioners at first neglected the "King's School" altogether. It permitted it to exist but made no provision for filling it with boys. The

Commissioners have since been induced to repair their mistake, and the Council of Almoners may now assign forty places in the Hospital to boys who are the sons of commissioned officers in the Royal Navy, the Royal Marines, or the Royal Naval Reserve, whose services are certified by the Admiralty to have been satisfactory, and such boys may on the application of their parents enter the Royal Mathematical School. The Almoners will naturally give a preference to the sons of the widows of such officers, if they are in straitened circumstances. There is a further provision for the admission of the children of those officers who have been "distinguished" in the service of the Crown, but the word is taken to mean that they must have been at least "mentioned in despatches."

This chapter began by noticing that the difference between a "Mathemat" and the ordinary "Blue" lies in the badge. But there are differences of badges yet to be noticed. The 40 "King's boys" wear a disc, bearing, as already stated, the loyal if not wholly merited legend "*Auspicio Caroli Secundi Regis.*" It shows a miniature "Mathemat" surrounded by the three graces of Arithmetic, Astronomy, and Geometry, with a ship under full sail and two little cherubs who "sit up aloft." Other foundations were "grafted" on to King Charles' "stock." Henry Stone's, whose constitution gave such trouble to Mr. Pepys, was marked by a badge bearing his name and the legend, "*Numero, Pondere et Mensura,*" and three boys at a table with a figured scroll, a balance, and a compass. The Governors in 1716 expressed their thanks to Sir Isaac Newton for giving this "dye." The one boy endowed in 1722 by Viscount Lanesborough was not distinguished by any badge. The contemporary foundation of Mr. Samuel Travers has been distinguished not by a badge but by a buckle, but since 1815 the benefits of Travers' gift have been separated from the Royal Mathematical School and devoted to the purpose of teaching mathematics to the boys of the Upper Grammar School. A third badge, whose use has almost lapsed, belonged to two boys nominated by the Admiralty in accordance with the

bequest in 1782 of Mr. John Stock. It bore the figure of Britannia with an anchor, ships, merchandise, and the legend "Prosperitas Navibus Magnae Britanniae."

These badges were at first made of silver. The boys had to wear them not only at school but during their apprenticeship, and they were a potent charm against the blandishments of the press-gang. But, as gently hinted elsewhere, they were a source of temptation, seeing that they could be left with an "uncle" for five shillings, and copper was ultimately substituted for silver. It was, however, the custom until quite recently to present a "Mathemat" on leaving with a badge in silver.

One other matter connected with the King's Foundation must not be omitted, namely their once regular appearance before the Sovereign to show themselves, their charts and drawings. It is probable that the subject of Verrio's great canvas in the Hall is a combination of two events, the presentation of the Charter by Charles II. and this annual appearance of the "Mathemats" at Court. The idea both of the picture and of the "going to Court" was doubtless due to Pepys; for it was announced to the Committee in 1681 that "Esq Pepys" had "spoken with Signior Vario, Painter," who was "preparing a model" and would "present the draught thereof." And among Pepys' correspondence is a letter dated February 17th, 1682, in which he writes to Alderman Sir Thomas Beckford, asking for the loan of his gown "for Signior Vario, the King's painter, to make use of in the picture." Charles was nothing loth to have his own foundation brought yearly to his notice, and the ceremony was associated with New Year's Day. The following minute of December 1682 will show the procedure: that "a list of the Mathematical children be presented to his gracious Ma^{tie} the 1st day of January next according to former usage—alsoe that another be presented to His Royal Highness James Duke of Yorke . . ." that "all the Committee should be summoned to appeare the same day in their gowns at Whitehall, not only to deliver the said lists but also to show the forty children now of his Ma^{ties} Royall Foundation

to his gracious Ma^{ty} and the Duke of Yorke." They also requested the Lord Mayor to be present "if his occasions will give him leave." In 1687 the lists were written and "painted" at a cost of £7, and in December 1690 Pagett, the Master, got into disgrace for not having "made preparation for the boyes to make exercises being draughts of Charts and Landskips &c against New Yeares Day." He replied that he had not been paid for it, and was consoled with "25 guyneys." The date of this incident implies that William III. had continued the custom of his predecessors, and had therefore shown that in November 1688 the Committee need not have hesitated as to whether they had better wait upon him. The "neglect of their duty" recorded against two beadles in January 1725 is noted in a connexion which shows that "going to Court" was not all that was expected of the King's boys; for these beadles did not attend "in due time when [the Governors] waited upon the Lords of the Admiralty wth the Boys of the Royall Mathematicall School, by reason whereof they could not pay the usuall respect to their Lordships by presenting them with the Books of the names of the boys." This visit to "My Lords" may also have been instigated by Mr. Pepys, but there is no record of its long continuance. But "going to Court"—save during the later years of Queen Victoria's lifetime—has been perpetual, and will no doubt be resumed under his present Majesty.

Note.—Verrio's picture was not completed till 1690. The price was settled in November 1684, when he told the Committee "he would doe it soe well that, if any artist that should see it did not say it was worth one thousand pounds, he would give the poore of this Hospital one hundred pounds," and, being pressed "to express himself more plainly, he agreed to £300 by instalments. In February 1685 he "proposed to make some alteration of the said designe in regard his Ma^{ty} King Charles the Second of blessed memory is lately deceased." Mr. C. W. Carey, who is now bringing the canvas back from its varnished obscurity, believes that the central figure is James II. This may, of course, be Verrio's intended "alteration," but in 1687 the minutes still speak of it as "his late Ma^{ty} picture."

CHAPTER VII

THE MUSIC SCHOOL

"Seraphs ! around th' Eternal's seat who throng
With tuneful ecstasies of praise :
Oh ! teach our feeble tongues like yours the song
Of fervent gratitude to raise."

COLERIDGE, *C. H. Easter Anthem*, 1789.

THE teaching of music at our Hospital began with its earliest times and has never ceased. It is true that music as a profession was not always held in the highest esteem within our walls, for in 1569 it was "agrede by the consent of this courte that from henceforthe none of the children harbored and kept in this Hospitall be put apprentis to any Musissioner othere than suche as be blinde or Lame and not able to be put to other Trades." Still, as has been already recorded, John Howes states definitely that among the first set of officers and masters chosen there was "a schoole-maister for Musicke," further described as "a teacher of pricksonge whose yerely fee was £2.13.4." But Howes does not give his name, as he does in other cases, and in the first batch of payments to the staff in the Annual Account of 1553 no separate mention is made of the Music Master. The natural inference is that, as John Watson, the Clerk, also taught writing, so some other master doubled the part of "song school" teacher. Unfortunately, after giving the names of the staff on the occasion of the first payment, the Annual Account henceforth contents itself with a statement of the total sum distributed to them each pay-day, but from other entries half a century later it is fairly clear that the succession had been maintained. Robert Dow in his indenture, of which an account will be given directly, lays

the credit for the Music teaching at the door of Mr. Edmond Howes "by reason of his singular zeal and integrity to Christ's Hospital." This Edmond Howes was joint-tenant with his father, John Howes, of "a tenement at the West gate of this Hospitall," and was baptised at Christ Church on July 19th, 1562; so that he can only be associated with the subsequent revival of interest in the Music School, which characterised the first years of the seventeenth century. The Court Book shows that singing masters were then appointed as a matter of course. Thus in March 1606 "there is graunted to one William Meacocke one of the singing men in Christ Church the yearely stipend of xl^s for y^e instructing of diverse of y^e children of this house in the art of Musick as Robart Browne late Blinde (?) dec^d enjoyed." But in a few months Meacocke was promoted to the Cathedral choir and then (June 10th, 1607) appeared "John ffarrant, Clarke of Great St. Bartholomewes neere to West Smithfield, being a suiter for the instructinge and teachinge of the Children of this house in the arte of Musicke, for that there is one W^m Meacocke one of the Singinge men of Paulls who should performe y^e same, but dooth neglecte his dutye therein." In the end Meacocke was "utterly discharged" and Farrant began a long connexion with the music of the Hospital at the same salary "as y^e sayd Meacocke *and others in like manner before him* did receiue." Farrant was, it would seem, a far greater success than his predecessors, at any rate during the earlier years of his work. At the end of eighteen months he applied for "a rise," and his salary was promptly doubled, with this proviso that he "shall alwayes instruct eight of y^e children of this house in Musicke and shall accompany y^e children of this house to y^e Burials* of all such persons whereunto y^e children of this house shall be required."

It is at this point that we are introduced to Mr. Robert Dow (or Dowe). He was keenly interested in the Singing School, and he determined to do for it what Lady Ramsey had done for the Writing, and what Thomas Barnes and Richard Aldworth would later on do for the Reading and

* See below, p. 228.



THE WRITING MASTERS (NOW THE WARDEN'S) HOUSE

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE REV. D. F. HEYWOOD

the Mathematical Schools. His proposal is set forth in an indenture dated February 8th, 1609. After reciting that the Governors of the Hospital, "being desirous that the poor children of the said House might be instructed . . . in the knowledge of pricksongs have lately entertained one John Farrant, being learned in music, for that purpose, and have agreed to allow him yearly the sum of foure pounds," it states that Dow felt the sum to be very small; therefore, "having a pityful commiseration of the poor children, and to the intent to encourage skilful teachers to do their best endeavour in the instructing" them "in the Heavenly Science of Music," he was willing, for God's service and their advancement, to add £12 a year to the music master's stipend, and hoped "that God will put in the heart of some good man" to make the £16 up to £20. The covenant thereupon entered into bound the governing body, after Farrant's death, to "provide one sufficient man skilful in Music, being a Bachelor or Widower without children, for avoiding of charge to the hospital, and not being any vicar, petty canon, nor clerk or sexton of any church, nor holding any other temporal office." This master, he goes on, is to "teach the art of music to 10 or 12 only of the said children," and to "train them up in the knowledge of pricksong," and teach them "to write and make them able to sing in the Quier of Christ Church." They are to attend there "every Sunday and every holyday and their vigils." In choosing his scholars, the master may pick from "all the schools and offices" of the hospital, "except only out of the Compting House, Ward-robe, and Grammar-school," in regard to which permission must be obtained. "And whereas the children in general go to burials," one half of the singing children, at the discretion of the master, must be left behind, that his school may not be empty, "unless it be a special or double burial." The singing-master must teach the singing-children their catechism. They shall always be at his command, lodging in "the high ward," while the master occupied specified apartments under the Counting House, together with a small garden. The singing-children are to go before

the President and Governors half-yearly, that they may "see and hear how far" they "have profitted." "For ever," he goes on, "against the Nativity of our Saviour," six shillings and eightpence must be yearly spent in gloves; "that is to say twelve pair of gloves for the poor Singing Children of sixpence a pair," and one pair "of Eightpence" for their master. Moreover, if any of these various conditions should fail to be observed, the Governors are to hand over the whole endowment to the Merchant Taylors' Company for their almshouses.

In 1611 Dow indented a further deed, increasing the master's salary to £20 and directing that, in consideration of the increase, he should teach "three or four" of the dozen children "to play upon an instrument, as upon the Virginalls or Violl, but especially upon the Virginalls, thereby to adorne their voice and make them worthy members both for the Church and the Commonweale"; and "for the better furtherance thereof the said Robert Dow hath provided and bought two pair of Virginalls and a Bass-Violl and hath set them up within the School-house." John Farrant himself had not been idle, but "sithence his coming to that place hath pricked divers services very fit for the Quire at Christ Church into eight several books together with an Organ Book." Dow paid him £5 for these, and the total cost of the "Virginalls Violls and Books &c." was "ten pounds six shillings and sixpence. And more thirteen shillings and fourpence for mending and tuning the Organs in Christ Church." The singing-master was also to be present morning and afternoon in Christ Church, and at the end of the sermons "usually preached in the Upper Church" was to play the Psalms sung by the people, "thereby to keep them in time and tune to the better setting forth of the praise of almighty GOD."

In addition to the £240, Dow offered £72 for the up-keep of the instruments he had provided; and the Governors were inclined to think this sum "somewhat to small considering that this house must at all times hereafter for Ever repaire and maintaine the said instrument." They bluntly

suggested that Dow should make it £80, which he promptly agreed to do, and thus the Music School obtained a fresh lease of life on most favourable terms. But, alas! in 1613 John Farrant, whose advance from a salary of £4 a year to one of £20 had perhaps been too much for him, fell under the grievous displeasure of the vicar of Christ Church, Mr. Marshall, who came with his curate and his "clarke" to make "diverse complaintes of y^e ill caryage and behavior" of the Music Master, of his "neglecte of his dutie in not singing in y^e church as he ought to doe," and even of his "outragious dealinge and misdemeanours in y^e Church." The vicar was willing to have overlooked all this, "so as hee would have submitted himselfe and have binne sorry." But Farrant refused to apologise, and so the Committee had to deal with it. To the vicar's indictment they added the statement that the music master "hath demeaned himself very badly towards y^e Government of this house, abusing y^e Gouvernours." So poor Farrant ate very humble pie indeed, and was forgiven, as most of the Hospital's servants have been,—till next time. Probably, though an awkward customer, he was a fair musician and teacher. But his "next time" soon came, and was sooner repeated. In January 1616 he sent a message to say that he was "arrested for debte" and was "in y^e Compter in Wood Street"; in fact, he wanted to resign his office, not because of his debts, but "in regard hee is very hard of hearing and his sight doth decay and his whole body is so weake and feeble." Yet he still held on, and in November was quarrelling with the system by which certain boys were appointed to learn to play the organ in Christ Church, according to the will of Mr. William Parker. But two years more were enough for him, and in January 1618 he resigned. The arrangement made with him appears generous enough to warrant the idea that he had really done good service. The Governors "graunted him during his life in regard of his paines taken eleaven pounds pr. ann. and fourtie shillings for provision of wood and coles. All which being thirteen pounds is to bee paid by five shillings

weekly; and likewise for his lodging that he should have a little room joyning y^e Kitchin, and y^e Kitchin itselfe to dresse his meate during his life. And a way to be made to y^e same thorough y^e garden." No wonder that Farrant took quite a fresh lease of life. His interest in his office remained meanwhile as keen as ever. I find in the minutes of the vestries of Christ Church a "Memorandum that M^r John ffarrant did deliver to us David Buckley Churchwarden and William Wyles Clarke for the use of Christ Church as a Gifte given Eight Synginge Books and an Organ Booke bound in Parchment and a blacke Boxe to put them in the ffirst daye of October 1622." His successor, Ravenscroft, came and went, and yet another, Thomas Peirce (or Pierce); but his conduct roused Farrant's wrath, so that he went to the Court and complained that Peirce does not "holy and solely apply himselfe in the instructing of the children," but "hath another place in the King's Chappell," and, still worse, is married, which was the very catastrophe that Robert Dow wanted to avert from all his "song schoole maisters." So Farrant, after seven years' retirement on account of old age, clamoured to be taken on again, and as the Court had to confess that his teaching had been better than that of any of his successors, he got his way. Peirce and he, according to the Treasurer's compromise, were to divide the hours of teaching till Lady Day 1625, in order that the children might be "perfect for the singing of the Psalme at Easter." Thereafter, Farrant once more ruled alone, except perhaps in his own house, where "some difference hapned" between him and his wife, and he lasted for another nine years. In March 1634 he is described as an "aged maister," too "sicke and weake" to select his substitute, yet not so thoughtless as to pass him on any of his salary, and about December 1634 he died, much to the satisfaction of Humphry Sempar, who had done his work, and who succeeded to his post. Then, for a while, the Song School did nothing to add to the Court's business, till the days of Richard Watkins, one of the bullies with whom periodically every governing



THE HALL

body has to deal. "We finde," they said in 1638, "that the print of his ffingers hath bene seene on one of the childrens cheeks," and "that he hath beaten another child with a road ouer the face." His dismissal was deferred, but he took to the use of "roapes" and "Crabstickes," not to speak of his boots, till on June 15th came the terrible news that a child "lyeth sicke of the small-pox in the sick ward," who "is conceived to have fallen into the sicknes with his [the master's] misusage and in greate dainger of death." Then, not too soon, Richard Watkins was allowed to resign.

The only topic of interest in regard to Thomas Brewer, who came after him, was that he was "sometimes a child of this house," and probably had learnt music in Robert Dow's foundation. But he, too, married a wife, and "comitted some errors and alsoe misdemeanours himselfe"; so he was told that he must leave at Christmas (1641), and that his wife must be out of the premises before Michaelmas. In after years the Governors provided against any such matrimonial complications by compelling the Song School Master to give a bond in £200 "that when it is proved that he is married he shall resigne up the said office."

In Dow's covenant there is a characteristic provision that the singing-master may have eight or ten pupils "not of the Hospital," in order "to do the better in his place and to increase his profit, like is used and accustomed with the Grammar Teachers and other Schoolmasters of the said house." But, even with this permission, it can hardly be said that the Music Master was overworked; indeed, nothing but capable and enthusiastic teachers was needed to produce in the Hospital an effective and creative musical life. It is doubtful whether this was at all realised. The Governors did their part in providing the plant. Besides the organ in Christ Church, to which the Music Master had access, there was also an organ in the Hall as early as 1673; for in that year (September 16th) "M^r White Organ maker . . . did desire that he might have the monies due to M^r Dallum who made the Organ in the greate Hall," and had since

died. In 1690 this organ wanted attention, and the Treasurer was asked to treat with "M^r Harris" with a view to his cleaning it and taking it in charge. Clearly this was the great Renatus Harris, who, it will be remembered, received a commision (of laughable consequences) to build an organ for the new St. Paul's and who also was responsible for the instrument in Christ Church. Again, in 1695, Harris reported on the Hall organ and drew special attention to the abundance of dust and "the soe frequent raising of it by the almost continuall conourse of the children." It would cost, he said, quite £30 to clean it. But he could not resist the chance of a thrust at another builder. "Its pitch," he argued, "is so sharp and so much above the reach of the children's voices that it causes in them an unnaturall squeeling, whenever they endeavour to reach a high note." The children could not play it because its "touch is soe stiff and uneven," nor could the Music Master, Mr. Browne, for that reason exhibit "that Mastry and freedome that might otherwise be expected from him." Renatus was willing to put all this right for £25, and professed that he would not do it "in any Cathedral or Parish Church in England under the summe of one hundred pound"; but he wanted thus to show his "great affection and respect" for the foundation. This work he carried out, and Mr. Gerhard Disseneer, organist of St. Giles' in the Fields, having reported favourably upon it, the money was paid. This was in July 1696, but Harris was not yet content. The Music Master had long wanted what the Minutes call a "Chaire-Organ"; he had consulted "M^r Christian Smith an organ maker" about it in 1693, but it was Harris to whom the work fell in 1697, and over this choir organ he quarrelled almost as hotly as he had with the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. For it was reported to the Committee in July that he "hath by some means or other made the said organ useless, upon account of some money remaining due to him"; whereupon the Committee told him that "if he did not forthwith cause the said organ to be made usefull," or take it away altogether and return the money, they would go to law. Harris

"seemed to be somewhat surprized," and had the sense to take what he could get for his work.

That the Governors were determined to have something more than what they called a Song School is shown by their anxiety to have Mr. Parker's bequest for organ teaching faithfully carried out, a matter to which their attention was frequently directed by the parish of Christ Church, as the following extract from the parochial records will testify:—

'At a Vestrie houlden the xviiith day of January Anno Dni 1624 amongst other things it was ordered that whereas M^r William Parker about eight years past of his free bounty for the p^petuell maintenance of an Organist in this Church gave Two Hundred poundes in money, to pay Tenne Poundes yeerely for ever to an Organist in this Church; with desire that if either nowe or at any tyme hereafter there were any Childe of the singinge Schoole of Christe Hospitall fytt and capeable for an Organist in this Church, That then in the tyme of vacancie hee should be preferred to the place of Organist before any other, duly p^pfourming the service of the same accordinge to the custome of this church and the Canons Ecclesiasticall.

'And forasmuch as at this present there is one Lawrence Hall lately trayned up in the foresaid singinge schoole, he is now grown capeable of the foresayd place of Organist; and at his humble suite, together with the true meaninge of the ffounder, the desire of the Treasurer and Gouvernors of Christe Hospitall, and the consent of the parish by this Vestrie houlden the day and yeere above sayd, that the sayd Lawrence Hall should be receaued and admytted Organist of this Church.'

Richard Browne, who was music master for many years towards the end of the seventeenth century, besides being a "very passionate man," who "did frequently sweare and use ill language to the children," was sharply reminded in 1690 of his duty "to instruct two of the boyes now under his care to play the tunes of all the Psalms and a Voluntary on the Organs in Christ Church as soon as may be." John Barrett, who was "pitcht upon" to succeed Browne, was called to book on the same account in 1699, but pleaded that he had one boy "that can play on the Organ and hath done it

severall times in the great Hall." Long before this, in January 1684, it was "moved that the Musick Master might be obliged to teach some children upon the Violin, and that once a fortnight on a Wednesday night the boyes soe taught might sing (? play) in parts with the organe with as many other children as can be taught to sing in part, which was well liked, and Sir Matthew Andrews said he would give one violin and Esq^r Tench two."

But, even with the "chaire-organ" and the violins and the succession of professional teachers in sole charge of twelve picked boys, it can scarcely be said that the foundation justified Robert Dow's hopes of it. Here, as with the Mathematical School, the fault lay at the door of the masters. Sometimes they were bullies like Mr. Browne, whose "servant" (*i.e.* assistant teacher) left him in terror and had to be "put in the Gazette, that soe it might be knowne what was become of him" (July 4th, 1689); sometimes the "quarter's sallary" was suspended, the Governors "having some suspition" that the master was "negligent in his business." But the records show no sign that the School was a nursing mother of great executants or original composers, and whereas a Grammar School boy frequently produced the libretto of the Easter Anthem and got it accepted by the Court, it appears to have been always the Song School Master and not his pupils who provided the score. In modern times the barrenness of the music teaching of the Hospital is excusable enough; for specialism is crowded out by much else and the music is a mere *parergon*; but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was the whole existence of the Song School boys. One cannot help feeling that if Mr. Pepys could have been in the Science and Art Department at South Kensington instead of Secretary to "My Lords" at Whitehall, he would have interfered in the Music School with the same persistence as he did in the "Mathemat"; for Pepys fancied himself in music both as a judge and as a performer.

It would be well if one could hope to see this musical foundation of the seventeenth century revived into a useful





existence in the Christ's Hospital of the future. The West Horsham plans included a separate hall for music, but it has been "written off" as a luxury. Still, with the old organ of the great Hall reconstructed at considerable cost, and with the new organ which the generosity of an anonymous donor is providing for the Horsham Chapel, the school will not lack the "plant." The rest must depend upon the teachers, and it may not be amiss to direct attention to points which arise out of this sketch of the Song School. Robert Dow unquestionably preferred a choir of twelve, if it were good all through, to a fortuitous concourse of sixty or seventy vocal atoms. The one was better calculated to lead the singing than the other. And he was anxious that the purpose set before them should be the reverent and effective musical rendering of Divine Service, at a time when the national school of Cathedral music—almost the only national music we possess—was rising towards its zenith. Our Music School can still have no worthier ambition.

CHAPTER VIII.

WRITING, READING, AND DRAWING

"He desired to see my writing: I showed him some; he might have read it by the light of my blushes."—COLERIDGE (letter from C. H. to his brother, May 17th, 1791).

THE WRITING SCHOOL

PLACED as it is in the midst of a commercial community, Christ's Hospital has from the first extended to its sons the benefit of a commercial education, and few schools have turned out better penmen than some of our "Blues." The first list of the staff contained "a teacher to write," though he combined with his teaching the office of Clerk to the Governors. It also contained two elementary teachers—"Schoole-Maisters for the Petties, A. B. C."—of whom one, Thomas Cutts, seems to have been also Clerk to the parish of Christ Church; while in 1570 it is on record that "Robert Browne Schole M^r of the pettite is admitted to the Barbers rome of this house in the Lewe of Robert ffoster who late had the same and for that he never wold shave the childrens hede he is dismissed." But, however humble its teachers may have been, the Writing School soon came under the favour of the benevolent Dame Ramsey, the almost "universal provider," to whom the pick of the Grammar School have always been so much indebted in the matter of exhibitions tenable at the universities, and whose rectory of Colne Engaine sheltered them in after life, was the virtual foundress of the Writing School. It appears to have been started in 1577, the year her husband, Sir Thomas Ramsey, was "Maior of thys most famous cittie"; which may account for the fact that her will, dated January 1596,

gave £20 a year to "maintain in the said hospital a writing-school, with a master and usher, to teach as well poor men's children of the city of London as children of the said hospital to write and cast accounts." Naturally, her name was long associated with the office, and even when things begin to settle down again after the Restoration and the Court Books give a careful list of the staff as it was in 1662, "Mr Jonathan Pickes" is still called "Master of the Lady Ramsies Writing Schoole." The original elementary teaching was in existence at the same time, for we are given in 1661 the names of the master and usher of "y^e A. B. C. Schoole," which, so far as I have been able to search, does not appear again. No doubt it was merged in the larger School, which contained in 1662 170 boys, and was evidently overcrowded, so that there was a proposal that the usher should have a Writing School to himself in a room under the ordinary schoolroom, and take on the charge of half the pupils. It is also clear that the staff was very inadequate. Poor Jonathan Pickes came to the Court a couple of years after the Fire and poured out a doleful tale. He had been "35 years a servant and Writeing Master in this House," and pleaded that "by reason of the two great judgments of the visitacon and fire, and having xi in family to maintaine and paying of rent, taxes, and other duties," he was £30 in debt; and the good Governors, knowing that even a younger man could scarce teach to any purpose with such a load round his neck, paid his debts, promised him £10 a year towards his rent, and were willing to give him £13 6s. 8d. a year "towards the keepeing of any servant whome he should choose to assist him in the affaires of this Hospitall." He accepted this, and took to himself an honorary colleague, one Richard Gutter, whose origin is perhaps set forth in his name, and who was more than content to be "dyetted and clothed." In 1674 Gutter was translated, on a report that he was "of good life and conversation," to be assistant to the Mathematical Master, which is at least some warrant for his having other attainments than mere caligraphy. And that is more, apparently,

than can be said for some of the masters, let alone the ushers. They taught their pupils to write and to read, but even elementary arithmetic was hardly their strong point. Take the sad story of Mr. William James. Just before the great Fire he had fallen into disgrace with Mr. Shadrach Helmes, the Upper Grammar Master (1662-78). After the Fire, the Hospital was almost depleted, and, in the general lack of funds, it was decided to dispense with Mr. James's services altogether, the Court no doubt bearing in mind that Mr. Helmes had reported him for having "absented himselfe from his schoole severall dayes, being oftentimes very much disguised with Drinke." But the Governors' memory was short, and, another vacancy occurring in the Writing School in 1674, James and another were candidates, and were "caused to write" before the Committee, "the which writeing they very well approved." William Gibbon, the Treasurer, seems to have carried the day in favour of James by the "great character" which he gave of him. Alas! it was worth no more than most testimonials, and a year later a sub-committee is examining James, who is reported to have resumed his former "disguise." He does not deny it for a moment; sometimes he "was soe." But he gets off with extenuating circumstances on the plea that "when he was soe, he had soe much discretion to hide it from the children of this House." This was in August, and his respite was brief. His "disguise" might be overlooked, but a dreadful rumour reached the Committee that he could not teach Arithmetic. So they had him up once more in December of the same year. "Being demanded whether he could teach comon Arithmetick, that is the plaine Rule of three, he made but very slender answer to it and told them that if he was deficient in Arithmetick he would make it his business for the time to come to enforme himselfe better in it. The Committee put a Question in Arithmetick to him which he could not doe, and for that reason that he is not skilled in Arithmetick and for that the Children have been very much neglected, the Committee reporte his insufficiency." The Court was of the same mind and

sentenced him to "come noe more into the said Schoole after Christmas Day." In February 1676, thanks to "a letter from my Lord Berkeley," John Smith reigned in his stead, and his rule was long and beneficent.

Some idea of a day in the Writing School in the later years of the seventeenth century may be gathered from the "Orders" drawn up in 1676. Whatever may have been the case before the Fire, the room occupied was at this time over the Grammar School, till Sir John Moore's fine building was erected for Dame Ramsey's foundation. Therefore it is laid down that the Writing Master must "take care that his discipline be so managed that there be no disgust given to the Gramar Masters by a tumultuary remoovall up and down over their heads to their great disturbance." As was the case with the other schools, work began at 7 a.m., when the usher had to read prayers, and the master must enter before the prayers were over. Morning school ended at 11, with more prayers, and in the afternoon they worked from 1 to 5 p.m. except Thursdays, when they stopped at 3, and Saturdays and Holy-Days, when there was no afternoon school at all. At each school there is to be a roll-call and an injunction is added that "if any shall be found missing, correction shall be given to them by shame or smart." It would seem that occasionally the masters omitted the consideration of the first alternative. "The bigger sort" are "to have exercises to prepare at night," not so much because their eight hours' day has not been enough as in order that they may not "be idle and gad up and down the streetes." Writing is still to receive every encouragement, for "whereas the children have hitherto had but one penn in a weeke, it is agreed that they shall for the future have two pens." Special directions are given about reading; a "convenient bible" is provided as a *corpus vile*, and the master must see "that the Scollars by turns every morning in an audible manner doe read a chapter, silence being made in the whole schoole and strict attention enjoyned, that soe the children may be better fitted for the upper schoole." Various rules are added to regulate the

relations between master and usher, and both alike have their devotions interfered with by a command that they must "come every Lord's day to Christ Church that soe their schollars may be kept in good order during prayer and sermon time." As to the examination of their pupils, the Court will look over their copybooks themselves in Bartholomew week each year, and we have already seen that they felt equal to cross-questioning the masters themselves as to the state of their arithmetic.

For the next twenty years there is little to notice in the development of the Writing School. The reading was evidently at one time under suspicion; for in March 1689 the Committee resolved "that 40 or 50 boyes in the Writing Schoole shall be examined at every Visitation as to their reading"; and if the dread of appearing before the Court did not prove a sufficient inducement to them to "improve their reading," then they "shall be sent into the Country, which will shame them and be a warning to the rest." Again, in the year following, there was an attempt to improve the curriculum on its commercial side. Someone proposed that a score of the pupils should specially learn "Merchants' Accounts," in the hope that this "may be of good advantage to them both for the credit of the Hospitall and the boyes better preferment when they are placed forth." So they sent for M^r Smith, the Writing Master, who said that he had no time to give such instruction, and it is not clear that for the moment anything was done. But at some period or other this sort of teaching was adopted and it lasted on into the nineteenth century. The Charity Commissioners of 1837 reported that about 50, out of 140, were in "the Merchants' Class"—an institution which many "Blues" can well remember.

The Writing School attained a fresh importance, as the seventeenth century came to its close, owing to the generous attentions of Alderman Sir John Moore. Since the Fire the accommodation had been obviously inadequate, and Sir John offered to remedy the defect by building an entirely new school at his own charges. Sir Christopher



THE GIRLS' SCHOOL



THE PLAYGROUND

THE HERTFORD SCHOOL

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY MR. F. G. SMART, A GOVERNOR

Wren was called in to design the building, and on February 20th, 1672, he "presented the draught of the new intended Writing Schoole," after which the Committee "went to view the ground and scite proposed." But, *more suo*, the great architect did little of the work himself. In the following June "M^r Treasurer represented to the Committee the great pains and industry that M^r Hawksmore S^r Christopher Wrens gentleman hath taken in makeing the draughts of the new intended Writing Schoole and severall other matters relating to that affaire, as alsoe what great trouble he is likely to be at in the time of building of it." Hawksmore, it will be remembered, was the architect of St. Mary Woolnoth, and (till the Provost found him too "luxuriant" and "exorbitant"*) was to have designed the additions to King's College, Cambridge. In the present instance, he did not err on the side of luxuriance, and he seems to have been content when the Governors gave him "ten Guineys as an Expression of their thanks to him for his great care and Service therein."

The work was finished within three years, and April 11th, 1695, was appointed for "the solemne opening of the new stately Writing School, built and compleatly finished with all the conveniences and appendices as it now stands, together with the Writing-Master's House adjoining, [apparently the present Warden's office] . . . at the sole cost and incredible charge of Sir John Moore Knt." The ceremony is worth recording in the words of the Minutes. "After the Lord Maior was pleased to place himself in the Deske prepared for the Writing Master and S^r John Moore was prevailed with to place himselfe there on his right hand (the children being all placed before in the lower raunges of seats and in the Gallery), we say, after these preparations made, the Governors with a great number of other Gentlemen walk'd out of the greate Hall two and two toward the front of the Schoole; where when they had placed themselves in the foremost raunge of seats and passage, the Treasurer, as he was directed, made his humble address to the Lord Maior

* AUSTEN LEIGH, *King's College*, pp 169-70.

in these or very neere like termes." Mr. Mountfort, the Grammar Master, had failed, as already recorded, to produce a boy fit to make the necessary speech, and Mr. Smith, the Writing Master, was told to try his hand, but in the end it fell to the Treasurer, whose words may be easily imagined. He closed with a prayer for the Divine blessing upon the generous donor and with the bidding "Let all that hear me say Amen." "Upon which close," says the Minute Book, "the children (being instructed soe to doe) with many others joyned as with one mouth in the repetition of Amen joyfully." No great occasion in Christ's Hospital has ever been complete without an anthem. This time it consisted of a treble solo, a quartet for the children of the Music School, and a *tutti* by the chorus of all the children. The shops, which were to support this building in more senses than one, must be mentioned elsewhere; but with the exception of them and of the glass partitions which have split up the big room in modern times the Writing School remains, at the time I write, much as Sir John Moore left it. The desks, with their holes for the inkpots with which he furnished them, are worthy to outlast the present building and to retire into the country.

One more incident in connexion with Sir John Moore, and we must leave the good knight. It is worth recording because it involves the name of a greater than he. It was felt that the "incredible charges" which he had taken upon him in building the Writing School called for some permanent memorial, and between the opening of the building and the following December, "M^r Gibbons, the Carver," was entrusted with the task of producing a statue of the benefactor. Like many artists, Gibbons was above such mundane considerations as punctuality, and Mr. Parrey, the Clerk, was asked to call upon him (December 20th, 1695) "to know the reason of his delay," and "to get M^r Gibbons to appeare if he can." "M^r Gibbons the Carver" appeared early in January and "declared that he cannot finish the statue untill S^r John hath sat once," but "in a month after that M^r Gibbons promiseth to finish the same." What his

promise was worth may be inferred from an entry of October 20th, 1698. "M^r Gibbons, a (*sic*) Carver, makes a demand for £60, residue of £90 for making Sir John Moore's statue," but, alas! "the same being in no way liked off has been the occasion of delaying y^e payement." A few days later the great man, now called "M^r Grinling Gibbons, Carver," was told bluntly "that the Statue is not approved off by anybody, the face no way resembling Sir John Moore," and that the Committee "doe expect he shall amend it before he is paid his money." So three members were told off to make sure of this amendment, and as the result of "their very good satisfaction" the money was paid. The marble statue, a class of work with which Gibbons' name has not been generally associated, was placed inside the School at the south end; but some ten years later it was decided to put it "on the outside of ye school in a Netch to be made for that purpose in the middle window on the East side in the most substantiall and effectuall manner as may be." Few would suspect, as they look at it, that it connects the memory of a generous citizen with the work of a matchless artist. But those who wish to see it must make a journey to West Horsham.

THE READING SCHOOL

The separate existence of a Reading School is not to be followed in the records without some doubt as to its exact history. We have seen that on the earliest staff there were "Scholemaisters for the Petites" who would naturally give instruction in reading. That is one end of the history of the Reading School. The other end is that of the "Blues" of modern days, who no doubt are still nominally taught to read in the Writing School. I can only say that the first reading lesson which ever made any impression on me I received in my nineteenth year from the Head Master with a view to the "devotional exercises," as reporters call them, at the Public Suppers. But evidently this was not the case in the early years of the Hospital. "Whereas," says a Court

minute of 1632, "it hath been used of Antient custome that the Children have been remooved out of the pettie schoole into the writing schoole to the intent they might bee the sooner fitted to bee put forth apprentizes, It hath been found that in the tyme of their learning to write they have quite lost their Readinge for want of exercize, It is therefore thought fitt and is ordered by this Court that from henceforth the said children shalbe remooued out of the Pettie Schoole into the Grammar Schoole for theire better perfection in Reading, And that the said children at the hower of Foure in the afternoone shall goo from thence to the Writing Schoole to practise theire writing there after theire Exercises done in the Grammar Schoole aforesaid." It is obvious from this that the teaching of reading in the early seventeenth century was very much in the haphazard condition which "Blues" of my own standing found in the latter part of the nineteenth. But at some date shortly after this year 1632 a department was established (probably on the foundation of the "Pettie School") for this particular subject, which continued to hold its own thirty years later at the time of the Restoration ; indeed, one of its masters was then dismissed as a person ill affected towards the King. "M^r Francis Soley," the terrible rumour ran in September 1662, "had not subscribed according to the last Act of Parliament, nor had not a Lycence to teach." But, worse than this, "he had another imployment and had left the care of the children to a strainger without the order of the Court," who were "highly displeased." They must, however, have been highly inconvenienced too ; for the Reading School was already undermanned. In March 1662 there were "85 house children in the said schoole and but one Maister to looke unto them (who receiues £18 p. ann, the Usher or Assistant being lately gone, who receiued £12), which we are fully satisfied," the Committee say, "is to great to be taught by one man." So they recommend the appointment of two men at £20 a year each and warn them that they are "to bring no family into the hospital." Four years later the Reading School was once more desolate of its proper staff ;

"Mr Batty Reading Schoole Maister had since the last Court for severall reasons withdrawne from his imployment in this house and the place was now voyd, but att present supplied by one that was a child of this house (a Minister)." Evidently there was need of someone to be its Mæcenas or force its necessities on public attention. This someone appeared in the person of Mr. Thomas Barnes, who among other benefactions, of which more elsewhere, left £25 a year for a master to teach Latin and English, and the Court considered this in the light of an endowment for this unfortunate Reading School. John Sampson, "heretofore a child of this Hospitall," was appointed in 1669, but his work came to an end in 1684, because "His Ma^{ties} Honor^{ble} Comissioners" (a body with a painfully modern counterpart) did not "return" him as Reading Master. So poor Sampson, who had already been ordered that "with all convenient speed hee discharge all his Towne children," who made up a large part of his income, found his occupation altogether gone, without any chance of compensation. And again the Reading School went into retirement, till the Committee in 1700 awoke to the fact that there was this unused Barnes benefaction, and one William East was appointed and "allowed to have the possession of the room adjoining Southward of the Music School for him to lodge in" (*obscurum per obscurius*, for we do not know where the Music School was). East subsequently went to Hertford, where he was expected to manage and instruct 130 children at a time, and "a chaire and Quarto Bible" and a boy "taken out of the House and bound as an apprentice for seven yeares" were all the assistance provided for him.

Half a century later the reading both at Hertford and in London was still very bad. At Hertford "the children were frequently taught to write and cast Accompts before they were able to spell and Read so well as might be expected from their age and standing." In London in the same year, 1755, James Townley, then Upper Grammar Master, presented a memorial to the Committee, "setting forth that having observed the Boys in general were very deficient in their

reading English . . . (there being no provision for instructing the Boys in Town in this Primary and necessary Qualification) therefore proposed to take two Wards at a time into his School on Mondays Wednesdays and Fridays from eleven to twelve to instruct them in reading English." He also suggested alterations in "the practice of reading in the Wards on a Sunday (which at present is very ill conducted)." The latter changes seem to have been left to the initiative of "the Rev^d M^r James Penn, Under Grammar Master," whose scheme was put forward in 1761 and throws some light on one or two matters of interest. "The learning of Latin," he says, "is immediately necessary for Youth designed for the University, mediately for other Professions; a small number of Boys is sufficient for these Purposes, the Demand for both being very inconsiderable." No boy therefore should go into the Grammar School with a view to learning Latin after ten years of age, "because he will not be able to make the Progress necessary to qualify him for the University." Boys of eleven, found to be deficient in Latin, should drop it and learn "to Read and Write English and to Spell." There should be 100 of these to 30 Latinists. Here is his not very exciting curriculum. His first form—those who can both read and write—were to occupy their mornings first by reading "Three or 4 chapters in the Bible" and then with "an English exercise Extempore to write"; the first part of the afternoon should be given to spelling, and the second to "An English Exercise in Writing, the words all false." His second class would simply vary its reading lessons by learning to write, while both classes were twice a week to learn "a Collect or part of the Bible by heart."

But there was still the difficulty of keeping up the reading after they left the Lower Grammar School, and this Penn proposed to meet by a system of reading in the wards. "Two chapters," he says, "are or ought to be read in every Ward one in the morning the other in the evening by a boy called the Marker. Instead of which suppose the Boys in their several wards were to take it in turn to read these

Chapters. By this method every Boy would read at least Twelve Chapters in the Bible yearly." Also, and worse than all, "of a Sunday at Noon when in their Wards each boy to read Ten or Twelve verses in the Bible. This finished, to spell." What happened to this dismal scheme it is impossible to say, but its mention of the "boy called the Marker" is interesting. In Trollope's time the Markers were "selected from the best proficient in reading, with a due regard to general merit," and were also Monitors. They wore a Marker's medal attached to a blue ribbon on Sundays and public occasions, and this custom continued till 1880, when the present writer, the last of the Markers to wear his medal in school, was called upon to deliver it up, and the ribbon to which it was attached is preserved in the Museum.

But in between Mr. Penn's scheme and the Trollope era there occur entries in the minutes which show that the Governors were doing their best to make the reading instruction efficient and general. In 1800 and thereabouts the examiner in this subject was a certain Mr. Prince and his task was evidently no light one. The Committee of that date expressed their grateful sense that "his examination of so large a number of Boys as 459 engaged an uncommon devotion of his own time," and the work was clearly done on some definite system, for the reading-books in use were carefully graduated to show "the qualification of each boy then and now." In the spring of 1801 the number under examination had dropped to 351, being regulated by the number of boys in the school over thirteen years of age, and the precise and painsfull examiner notes for the information of the Governors that "their errors were 1022." We may take leave of him with a mention of his mild suggestion made in the following year that "he thought much good would result if English Grammar were in general use."

The late Canon Buckle, whose recollections I have quoted elsewhere, told me that one thing at any rate the school did for the boys of his day. "It made us very familiar with the

text of the Prayer Book and the Bible—which last was a regular reading-book for the younger classes”; while my old friend, Deputy Cox, whose memory went back still further, wrote that “after leaving the Hall on Sundays before going to Church in the afternoon, we assembled in the wards, and there was a little reading, a Marker presiding.” All of which seems to show that, as the century went on, the “Blues” after their early years taught themselves to read and did it with their Bible.

THE DRAWING SCHOOL

It is conceivable that some scholars of our ancient house will want to skip this subject, and indeed it has its unpleasant memories for many. In modern times instruction in drawing has been compulsory at certain stages in the school course, and the present writer is one of a herd whom Providence never intended for the describing of straight lines, much less of curves. And there was a time within comparatively recent memory, when others, who had a moderate competency in these mysteries, chose rather to disguise it and suffer affliction among the incompetents than to fly to evils that they knew not of, except by dire report, in the room beyond. But, in the assurance that manners have changed with the times even in the Drawing School, we may pass with equanimity to glance at its beginnings.

The motive which led to its establishment was not art for art's sake. The “King's foundation” had brought into the school a certain zeal for technical instruction. The “Mathematics” prepared “draughts” of all kinds from the beginning under the eye of their master, and it has already been remarked that all other interests were for a time subordinated to those of the King's Boys. It was therefore proposed in the summer of 1692 that the teaching of drawing should begin in the Writing School, to save the time of the Mathematical master; and in November Mr. Smith, the Writing Master, presented to the Schools

Committee "a specimen of divers of the Boyes drawing, which they have learnt in about three months' time." So far the experiment was justified; and meanwhile the Treasurer had been asking for opinions as to the need of such a school from experts such as "S^r Christo: Wren" and Samuel Pepys. In his reply Wren said he had heard it observed "that our English Artists are dull enough at Inventions, but when once a forreigne pattern is sett, they imitate soe well that commonly they exceed the originall." "I confess," he went on, "the observation is generally true, but this shows that our Natives want not a genius, but education in that which is the foundation of all Mechanick Arts, a practice in designing or drawing, to wth every body in Italy, ffrance, and the Low Countreyes pretends to more or less." Pepys, whose letter is dated November 17th, 1692, confesses that he is not the man he was and can only send "y^e opinion of one whom age and Idlenesse have nowe spoiled for a Councillor in anything." But he takes just Wren's commercial view of the need of the Drawing School, urging that "fforeign artizans and especially the ffrench" are far ahead of their British colleagues in this matter.

Backed by this advice, the Governors started the school in a small way. There would not be room, Mr. Smith said, for more than a dozen boys to learne drawing in the Writing School, and one Faithorne was elected to teach that number on a stipend of £20, in February, 1693. But, like other of the Hospital's educational ventures, the Drawing School was almost wrecked by the inefficiency of the first teachers. Within two years the Treasurer began to have his fears about Faithorne, and the Committee "sent for him with the boyes that he teaches to draw." They decided that "he does not acquit himself worthily," and that there must be some improvement, "otherwayes they will dismiss him." A year passed and he was before them again, with "nothing materiall to say in his owne vindication." At last, in July 1696, they made up their minds that his teaching "hath not been of noe advantage in any respect whatever," and Faithorne went his way. For a time the Governors had

had enough of Drawing Masters, and the project was dropped for seven years. It came up again in 1703, and was perpetually considered and deferred till May 1705, when it was decided that forty boys should learn drawing, possibly because Faithorne had been idle with his twelve pupils, but, more probably, because forty was the number of the "Mathemats." This time they would be more careful in their choice. There were two candidates, "of both whose qualifications the Committee resolved to make an experiment, and to that purpose severall of the Committee went with the Candidates upon the Platforme over the Mathematicall Schoole, and there set each of them to draw immediatly with their Pencill a draught or view of Christ's Church Steeple, and the prospect of the Steeples as farr as Guildhall." It was at once a severe test in itself and a delicate compliment to Sir Christopher Wren, who prided himself on nothing so much as the nicely calculated effect of his circle of City towers. As a result, the Committee "were clearly of opinion that M^r Lens draws the quickest and the best." If names go for anything, they might hope to have made the best choice, and so it turned out. Lens was to teach three afternoons a week during the usual hours at £30 a year. In 1706 he received a "rise" to £50, and in 1708 (because he "acquitts himselfe like an honest and ingenuous master") another to £70. He held his classes in the Great Hall, and he taught only the "Mathemats." Their progress was so satisfactory that it was enacted for their encouragement "that the drawing boyes when they are discharged the House shall take along with them the books of their own works." The only trouble came from the Mathematical Master (Newton), who "hath frequently on some pretence or other kept the boyes of his school from their attendance on M^r Lens." Apart from such trifles the early Drawing School was an undoubted success. Trollope says that in his time the drawing master was "attached" to the Mathematical School, but that he also had to teach certain boys sent to him from the Grammar and Writing Schools; and there was a sensible understanding that, if

any of them "shall not have a capacity or genius for drawing," they are to be "more suitably employed." By the middle of the nineteenth century it had come to pass that certain forms were sent *en masse* to the Drawing School, with the result that tempers were lost and spirits were cowed and "detentions" were frequent and scourgings fierce. But in its instruction of the "Mathemats" the Drawing School has nearly always been successful, and has sometimes achieved quite astonishing results. The beautiful art school already built at West Horsham offers the hope of still better things in future, not only for the "Mathemats," but for those in other parts of the school who have talents in this direction. It is to be sincerely hoped, however, that the "incapables" will be permitted to be "more suitably employed."

These six—the Grammar, the Mathematical, the Writing, the Reading, the Music, and the Drawing Schools—represent all that was attempted in the first century and a half of the history of the Foundation, and the system cannot be said to err on the side of the niggardly or the narrow. Signs are not wanting that more modern subjects pressed for consideration; for example, in September 1709 there was a "proposall sent in writing to the Governors of this Hospitall by M^r Zachary Loquet for introducing a French school here, without putting the house to any charge." Obviously the proposer was prepared to act towards the French School the part played by Lady Ramsey to the Writing School, by Dow to the Song School, and by Aldworth and Colwall to King Charles' Foundation. For the moment the matter was postponed.

Modern times have brought modern developments. The Commissioners of 1837 "entirely agree in the opinion that boys educated here ought to be taught the principal modern languages. In the present state of the intercourse between this country and the continent, no system of education has any pretence to be termed satisfactory, much less complete, that does not embrace the study of the French and German languages." In regard to French, the advice was taken

without delay, and for a quarter of a century and more the Modern Side has been taught German as well. Indeed, in my own time in the Grecians' Class the Governing Body gave us the inestimable advantage of receiving a good start in that language from Dr. Theod. Wehe, a teacher whose early death has meant a grievous loss to education in the country of his adoption.

CHAPTER IX.

THE JUNIORS AND THE GIRLS

"At Hertford I was very happy on the whole, for I had plenty to eat and drink, and we had pudding and vegetables almost every day."—COLERIDGE.

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, HERTFORD

THIS story of our Foundation ought to contain some brief reference to work that has been carried on from its earliest years at a considerable distance from Newgate Street. It has already been shown that the first recipients of the City's bounty were divided into children under education and children out at nurse. In theory, these last could be entertained anywhere, and so much a week was paid for their maintenance till they were of an age to join the school. But well within a century of the foundation of the Hospital it had become the practice to send them to three neighbouring towns in Hertfordshire—Hoddesdon, Ware, and Hertford. Here the Hospital acquired a number of houses which it permitted certain selected nurses to occupy, they supplying the furniture and receiving up to 1709 two shillings, and afterwards half a crown a week for the board of each child sent to them. It is easy to believe that these worthy dames complained as often as they reasonably could that "all sorts of provisions were extraordinary deare," with a view to an additional allowance. But the fact that from early times the Hospital had not only its many pensioners, but hundreds of boys and girls at nurse in these three towns as well as in the City, is a good instance of the wide extent of its beneficence. Of the three, the settlement at Hoddesdon or Broxbourne was the least important and

was for girls; the "Place House" at Ware provided accommodation for about 180, all boys, and the premises at Hertford, which have continued on much the same site since the middle of the seventeenth century, contained at first about 280, of both sexes, the great majority being boys.

In each place the Hospital, while it farmed out the catering of the children, made itself personally responsible for their education by appointing and paying schoolmaster or mistress, as the case might be. The great difficulty was to provide proper supervision of these dominies at such a distance from headquarters. There are occasional signs of a Committee of Governors resident in the locality, who could drop in casually and report their observations to London. But in the end everything depended upon the Masters, and after the removal to Hertford on March 12th, 1697, of the "Mistris and Girles" from "Hodsdon" and on March 19th of "the Master and children" from Ware (though the latter was not a final arrangement), the Hertford Master had his hands full. There were, however, many more complaints about Ware than about Hertford. In 1716 it was reported that "the [Ware] children were restrained from playing at seasonable times in the ffield given (by S^r Jonathan Raymond, a worthy benefactor) for that purpose, . . . and all this purely for the accomodation of M^r Hathaway [the Master] who kept a Cow and an ass in the said feild, and likewise that M^r Hathaway entertained and taught among the Hospitall children a great number of foreign children contrary to the knowledge of this House." Another master in 1728 was forbidden to punish the children "in an uncomon manner or imploy any of them in Servile work or send them to glean corn or look after his Geese or Fowles." At one inspection the Governors found that there are compensations for every disorder. For "whereas May Johnson, a nurse, and her daughter" were "disguised in Liquor" and had to be reprimanded, there is next a "Note. The children at Ware were catechized and made their answers perfectly and well." A nurse in 1755, who bore

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the name of Keymer, afterwards so well known at Hertford in another connexion, was complained of by her "children," that "she almost starved them and that what she did give them was very little and bad, and that they for weeks together had no small beer given them, and that what they had was often sour." It is clear also that the "Place House" was insanitary, with "stinking and unwholesome water standing in a well and overflowing," and that it was fairly ruinous; for in 1748 an order was given that the fronts of the houses should "be Boarded up as far as is necessary to keep out the Cold." Nor was the teaching, which consisted largely of reading-lessons, very much better. The Ware master of 1760 complained that he could not secure proper progress, as there was a rule that he must "not put any of the Children under his care into Writing till they were Ten years of Age, which he apprehended was a great hindrance to such Boys who had good Capacities." The Governors at once told him to begin writing lessons with the boys "when he should judge most for their advantage." But by that time the days of the Ware School were numbered.

The Hertford premises had been practically rebuilt in 1695 and the old school-house turned into an infirmary. In 1760 it was reported that there were "in the buildings at Hertford 20 houses which have eight beds in each, and will commodiously [*i.e.* two in a bed!] entertain, at 16 in each House, 320 children." At Hertford and London together there were then 986 places, but only 850 children. They therefore decided to add two Houses to Hertford, remove the Ware children thither, and dispose of the Ware premises altogether. It was recommended that this removal should take place "as soon as possible whilst the weather is warm and the Days are long."

Hoddesdon and Ware may thus be regarded as unsatisfactory episodes. Hertford, on the other hand, is a permanent if sometimes troublesome feature in the School's history. The responsibility, as already stated, fell mainly on the Master. It was he who received an "order to imploy a barber when it's needfull at the rate of Twelve pence p. score

to cut their hair." It was he who had to keep the nurses within the rules, and he not seldom failed; witness a complaint made in 1715 "that upwards of One hundred persons, Lodgers and nurse children, have entertainment in our Buildings at Hertford, whereby our Children suffer much inconvenience." It was he who had to keep order within the Hospital and "so take care that the Gates be shut up every Night at Nine of the Clock"; but his ways of doing so were often curious. An "anonimous Letter" was read* to the Committee in London, reporting "the Scandal that the School at Hertford lies under by the Master's bad conduct by puting the Girls in the Boys Nurses houses," and still more "by letting the School to an Italian Hussy to act a Droll in every night, which Gentlemen that would be benefactors to the said Charity cry out Shame, to see the Play Bills sticked up on every Post in the Town." It was not much wonder that a man who had devoted "all the time he could spare from the neglect" of such duties to the instruction of over 200 children in "Reading, Writing, Arithmetick and Latin" should think himself poorly paid at £65 a year, even with the addition of "twenty shillings p. ann. for his care of and winding up the Clock."

But it must not be supposed that he was left entirely to his own resources save for occasional calls from a local Governor. From the earlier days of the Hertford settlement right up to recent times it has been the custom of the Governors to pay a formal visit of inspection once a year to the children in the country. The mistake made was that they mostly gave notice of their coming and that for many years they might confidently be expected during the early days of March. The money to pay the nurses was sent regularly by stage coach. "Kyffin Phillips, who keeps [1769] one of the Hertford Stage-Coaches," was employed to carry this money, "being paid two shillings for carriage of each Parcel of Money at his own Risque." But the visiting Governors disdained the ordinary "Stage." They have left a record of the exact details of their various journeys

* December, 1757.

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in the "View Books." The party consisted generally of the Treasurer, two or more Governors, a clerk, a beadle, and the Treasurer's servant. They would set off early in the morning, generally about six o'clock, from "the Moor-gate Coffee House" in "a coach and four horses," and would reach Hertford before noon. On arrival they went into the schools and examined the children in reading and writing, an ordeal out of which the children often came very badly. In this way they picked out a number of scholars, about fifty boys and a score of girls, as being fit to be moved up to the London school, whither they departed "by waggon" a few days later. Then the Governors visited the various houses, paying special attention to the bedding and the general cleanliness, and showing their displeasure if they found, as they sometimes did, that three boys were put to sleep in one bed. Their next inquiry was about the food. One report says they "enquired strictly, taking every Nurses children by themselves, whether they had their Bellies full of Victuals, and they all declared with much cheerfulness they had as much as they could eat." Sometimes a young rascal would aver that he was starved, and after much cross-examination explain his lie by "his desire of being removed to London," the Mecca of every Hertford "Blue." Then, unless it was necessary (as it often was) to go up to the old parish church, several years ago consumed by fire, in order to consult with the churchwardens about an alteration in the west-gallery, where the "Blues" sat on Sundays, the visitors would have their dinner, mount their coach, and drive off "through the Park" to Ware, putting up for the night "at the Bull Inn." Next morning they went through a similar inspection of the school there, and "so home to bed" in London.

This book is not a history of Christ's Hospital, Hertford, but it would not be fair to omit this short record of the preparatory school which started life as a crèche. Up to 1891, with very few exceptions, every boy admitted to the foundation was obliged to make a short stay at Hertford. If he was precociously quick or very advanced in his studies,

his sojourn there might be a matter of weeks. If he was abnormally dull, it was prolonged till he was sent up, as we used to say, "for age," on the principle that, as he was never likely to learn much, he would only get into mischief and "corrupt other." But the new Scheme has deprived the "competition wallahs" of any visit to Hertford. They come straight to the London School, and the number of boys in the country has been correspondingly reduced. Moreover, the future will sever the boys' school from Hertford altogether, for it has been recently decided that the preparatory school shall accompany the main body to West Horsham, where a house is being built for it. The Hertford site will then be entirely occupied by the girls of the foundation.

THE GIRLS' SCHOOL

This therefore will be a convenient place in which to give some account of the Girls' School, which is coeval with the Boys' School, though it has never been of the same importance nor attained the same publicity; indeed a recent correspondent of *The Times* (March 14th, 1901) denied its very existence "except on paper." But by no sort of justice can the Annals of Christ's Hospital exclude some notice of it, though it has been the lordly fashion of "Blues" male to think foul scorn of "Blues" female; and I can remember, so arrant is the snobbery of youth, that in our estimation a fellow "lost caste" if he happened to have a sister on the foundation. In the same vein Trollope lets them down gently by saying that they were made fit for "the humbler walks of life wherein they may be expected to move."

But the worthy Governors entertained no such prejudice in old times. From the first they laid themselves out to assist helpless children of both sexes, as various instances have already shown. In their records of their work, the phrase they most commonly use is "the children of this House," and from 1553 to 1776 the House in London included both sexes impartially. I have been unable to discover in what part of the buildings the girls were lodged

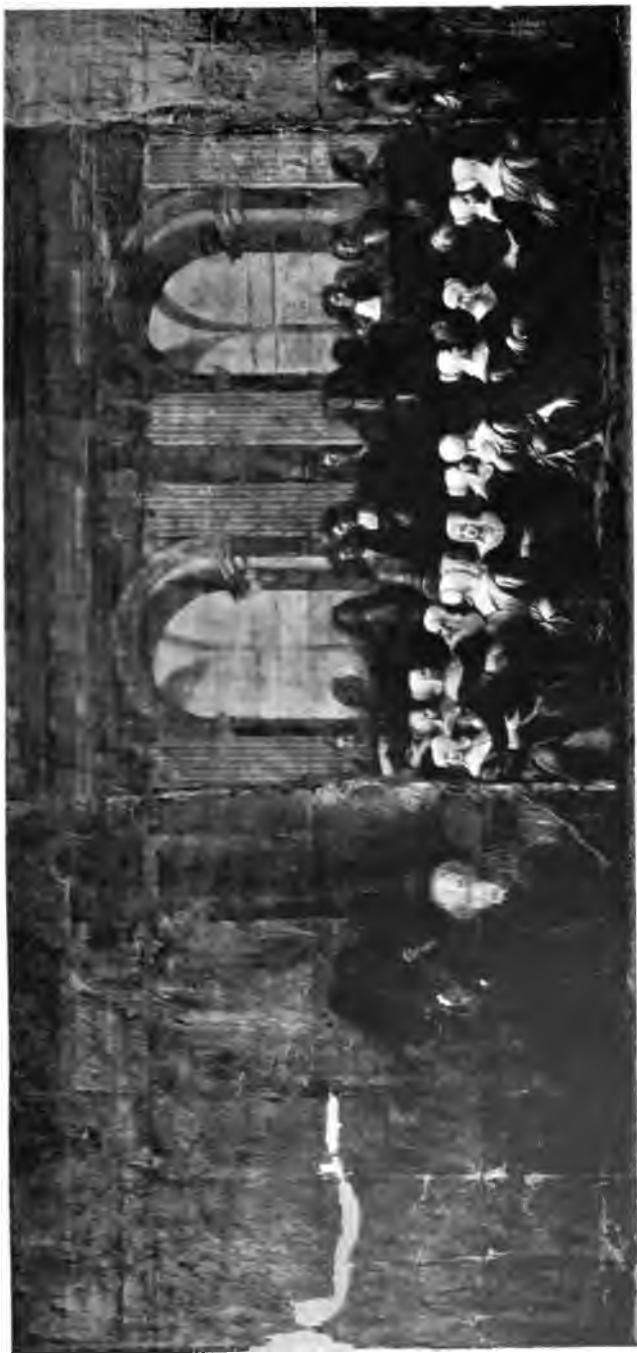
previously to the Fire, but it is certain that after the Fire accommodation was found for them in the splendid brick building erected by Sir Robert Clayton over the "Giffs." They attended Christ Church and acted mutes at "Burials," like the boys, and for a century and a half they had their meals in Hall at the same time as the rest of the school, a perilous arrangement which, nevertheless, does not appear to have led to any quarrelling. It came to an end in 1703, because there was not sufficient room, as the following order shows: "Whereas now the number of the Children are enlarged the Tables in the Hall are not sufficient for them all to sit down at Meales without being very much crowded, It is ordered that the Girles shall dyet in their Ward, there being a convenient Table there for that purpose, and that the King's Ward boyes shall be removed up to the Girles Table." It would even appear that for certain purposes they went to school in the same room as the boys. For there is an order of 1710 that "the Girles shall noe longer goe to the Writing School to learn to write, but that some conveniency shall be made in their own school for their Writing, and that the Writing Master shall send his serv^t [*i.e.* his apprentice] to instruct them at such hours as shall be thought most convenient."

As a rule the Girls' School gave very little trouble, and the rewards frequently voted to the Mistresses imply the constant satisfaction of the Governors. There was, however, an amusing exception in the case of Mistress Lorrain, who was in office when the change just mentioned took place. At the "Visitacon" of April 1715, the Treasurer had to remark openly on "the unruly and disorderly carriage and behaviour of the Girls," and he put it down to the fact that Mrs. Lorrain "did not her duty as she ought to doe; which being officiously carryed to her within two or three hours after, M^r Paul Lorrain her husband came to [the Treasurer's] House and treated him in a very unbecoming and disrespectfull manner, telling him he had acted like a knave to speak of his wife behind her back to that effect." So husband and wife "had notice to attend the Committee, and

she accordingly attending (her husband not present)" received her *congé* on the spot. It is not surprising that a few years later (1767), when the Committee set forth the qualifications necessary for a schoolmistress, they should not only exclude those who were under thirty-five or over fifty, but also anyone who "is a married woman." It was arranged at the same time that the candidates should "be examined by the Upper Grammar Master as to their ability of Teaching to Read, Spel, &c. and by the Matron as to their Ability in Teaching Needle and other works usually Taught in the said School," the Treasurer to act as *duenna* at both examinations.

The duenna-like proposal of a former Treasurer (Nathaniel Hawes), in 1684, "that some of the girls might be taught to knitt, which motion was laid aside at present," suggests the question of the sort of needlework done by the girls. Their dormitory in London was, as elsewhere recorded,* close to the cutting-room and the Wardrobe, and it is fairly certain that from early times they were employed (possibly at one time in common with the boys) in making the clothing for the Foundation. "The Children's coates, petticoates, and other things," says a minute of 1637, "weare alwayes made by the children of this house in the Taylor's shopp," and an arrangement is at the same time concluded with the Tailor. He is to receive "x^l. p. ann." "for the cutting out of all the said coates and trayning up the said children to make and finish them." Further "this house shall bee at the charge of Thredd, Needles, and Thymbles, for the doing of the said worke, but the sheeres and Pressing Irons hee is to find at his owne charges." The statement that such had "alwayes" been the case must be compared with the facts which can be gathered from still earlier Court Books. These show that the children were taught trades. In 1562 four children were sent to Bridewell to learn a trade, having their meals provided at Christ's Hospital. A little later a place is to be provided in the Hospital, where a dozen children are to be taught to make

* See p. 49.



A GROUP OF GIRLS IN VERRIO'S PICTURE

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thread and spin flax. A tapestry maker is granted a room, and there is an agreement with him to teach two children. So also with a maker of Turkey carpets. In 1574 one "Nicholas Van Buescum, a pynne maker," asked the Corporation to allow him "a convenyent place within thospittall of St. Thomas or Brydewell to make pynnes, and there to teache and instructe certeyn of the poore children of Chriesties Hospittall in the sayd arte of makynge of pynnes." Finally, I think the part that the girls took in making the clothes required for the Hospital is fairly proved by various entries subsequent to their removal to Hertford. One states (October 1780) that it is thought well to increase the number of girls in the school, it being "necessary to have a sufficient number to do the work with ease, that they may sometimes have an opportunity of being exercised in finer work." Sewing coats, that is to say, is all very well, but why may we not crochet, for a change? Another (dated March 11th, 1801) mentions that there were then only 60 girls in the school instead of 100, and that 22 would be leaving during the year. "Also," it goes on, "from the smallness of the present number, already daily diminishing, a considerable portion of the House work was necessarily placed out." Accordingly, in November 1802, it was resolved that the girls should stay in the school till they were 15, instead of 14, "being for the last year made acquainted with household affairs." We can thus believe Trollope's statement that in his time "part of their occupation consists in making the linen both of the boys and themselves."

The removal of all the girls to Hertford was first proposed in 1776. It was then urged that there was "great want of Room" in the Hospital in London, and that the remedy might be found in "building Nurseries for all the Girls upon the ground late in lease to M^r Whittenbury by which means the Girls' Ward in London will be disengaged and may be employed for the entertainment of seventy Boys." The project was approved. In 1778 a "Writing and Arithmetick Master" was appointed for them "when they come to

Hertford," his special qualification being that he "is a married man of very Regular Behaviour and fair character," and in the following year, when the Visitors drove down in their coach and four, they were able to examine the girls in the school which has been their abode ever since. The Girls' School has had its ups and downs between that day and this. But it is worth noting that the Charity Commissioners reported in 1837 a remark of the then Treasurer (Mr. Pigeon) that the Girls' School "is considered as the most perfect branch of the whole establishment."

The Charity Commissioners of the present day, much as they have done to cripple the old Foundation, may take credit for their efforts in behalf of this "most perfect branch." Under its talented Head Mistress the Girls' School has undergone a remarkable development in recent years. As soon as Horsham is ready for the boys, the Hertford building will be wholly given over to the girls. Not the least remarkable feature about them is their keen and patriotic interest in everything that affects the welfare of the Foundation and the prosperity of all who love it.

CHAPTER X.

FOOD AND CLOTHING

"His very garb, as it is antique and venerable, feeds his self-respect."

CHARLES LAMB.

FOOD

AS a Religious Foundation Christ's Hospital reveres the Divine Authority which tells it that "the life is more than the food and the body than the raiment." Yet in actual practice most schoolboys may be pardoned for putting their gloss on the first clause, and the world in general agrees that the circumstances of Christ's Hospital will make it natural to dwell a little on the second. Both of them deserve more than ordinary consideration, inasmuch as they have been freely bestowed without payment on every generation of "Blues" (save the one now in existence), and that portion of the fees now allowed by the Scheme to be demanded of parents, which can be made to represent the cost of food and clothing, is not large enough either to recompense the authorities for what they bestow or to encourage a boy to imagine that he pays for what he receives. In the matter of food, therefore, as well as of raiment, the "Blue" has always stood on different ground to that of the ordinary public-school boy, whose parents pay for his "keep" and find themselves expected to resort to "hampers" in addition.

It is only fair to those who have so freely devoted their time to the care of the children to say that from the first it was never from lack of diligence in the Committee if food was scanty or inferior. The earliest Governors, as we have seen, received into their Hospital the starvelings of the City streets.

They were mostly men engaged in trade and commerce, and the supplying of provisions "on the best terms possible" (the phrase is their own) was a matter that they understood more clearly than they did their Latin Grammar, and they have left us a beautifully written and fairly detailed account of the earliest outlay in this respect. The "Annual Accompt" shows first what was spent on adapting the "Grey Friars" to scholastic uses, and the moment the children are admitted in November 1552 there is a heading called "Acates" (a word which is obviously related to the French *achat*). The modern Lawsonian must not be scandalised if the first item of all was "Beare, iij^{li} vj^s viij^d," and if a mere trifle was spent on "Mylke," and "Butyer." At least there was over ten pounds' worth of Mutton, and "Beof" to the value of seven guineas, for the first month. To these December added "whytinge and ffyshe (x^{li} iiij^s x^d)," and there are signs of further variety in the entry "Acates of all kyndes. xxxj^{li} vj^s iiij^d." February and March of 1553 followed out the same *menu*, save for "hearinge and other ffyshe" in the one and "playse" in the other. The bread bill came in during the autumn of 1553, when there was "Paid to Mr. Cleyton Baker for Breade spent in this House from the tyme of the erection thereof which was in Novembre A^o 1552 unto Septembre A^o 1553 . . . c^{li}." They also paid in January 1554 "for cliijj gallons of Milk" at the rate of "iij^d" a gallon.

After this the accounts begin to lose their earlier details, and the Governors were evidently developing a system of paying to nurses and others a weekly sum "per capita" for the board of the children, especially those in the Infirmary. It was a plan which did not, and did not deserve to, last any great time. The only hope of efficiency and economy lay in the system of contracts which has prevailed practically throughout. It may be noted, as a sign of the partnership of interest between the Royal Hospitals, that in November 1557 it was resolved: "that the bread to serue this house shalbe made hereafter at Bridewell, and to delyver iij loves for ii^d and everye loof to contain xx ounz until meale be solde in the markette of London for x^s the quarter, and

then to serue iiii loofes for ii^d after the rate of the ounce aforesaid."

The same carefulness entered into their arrangement of the meat contracts. In 1593 "William Hawer butcher is agreed withall to serve this House with beefe, mutton, and veale for one whole year to Shrowetide 1593, and the same to be holsom and good, the bones to be taken out of the beafe and he to have x1^d p. ston. for witness whereof he hath put his mark"—a big bald H. By 1675 the price of "Buttock flanke and chuck beefe" had risen to "2^s p. stone," and in 1769 the butcher of the day undertook to supply beef, mutton, veal and pork "at two shillings and three pence per stone." The last-mentioned contract specified that "the roasting Beef" should be "middle Ribs without the gristle or tops, two Ribs only being cut off the fore Ribbs, & the Hospital having the four next Ribs of a large ox, and the next five of a small Ox." It was, of course, as it still is, the duty of the Steward to keep an eye on the purveyor. According to an order of 1638, he was to see the meat "weighed at the Butchers" and later "weighed into the Chaldron" and later still "hee shall weigh it when it shall be boyled." The same order adds that "the nurse for every child that is wanting at every meale shall returne unto the Steward the allowance of bread cheese butter & beefe, and hee to give an accompt of the same," which reminds me that my first "Dame" at the Hospital had a rather mythical cat with a voracious appetite for tit-bits from the *plat du jour*. The standing side-dish of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was a mysterious something called "Pudding Pyes," the contracts for which occur again and again in the minutes, being left for many years in the hands of a firm called Sturt. The committee had Mr. Sturt up in 1684 and "told him all the ingredients for making the said puddings were very cheape, and therefore expected he should abate of the prise he had received." Sturt urged against any abatement that "he made the comodity very good and that severall Governors upon view had approved of the same." Indeed "he would make it appeare that he

is a looser rather than a gainer," but he only got his contract by "allowing 13 to the dozen at 12^d." In 1699, he was told that the articles supplied were to be "good cleanly wholsom pudding pyes," each "to weigh (after it is baked) eight ounces at least Avoirdupois weight." But in 1712 these luxuries paid the penalty of price and unpopularity. "Taking into their consideracon the expense of Puding Pyes for the Children and the Dislike they have thereto," the Committee discharged "M^{rs} Paul als Sturt" (for she had apparently married again and "kept on the business") and substituted bread and cheese. I grieve to say that the contract for cheese fell to a Governor at "three pence p. pound."

It will now be well to give some details as to the daily *menu* and its gradual transformation. The fare for each week was settled in 1678, as follows:—

' Sunday,	noone—boyled beefe and poradge with 5 ^{os} of bread. att night—Roast mutton. [The Public Supping]
Monday,	noone—Water grewell with currants. night—cheese.
Tuesday,	noone—boyled beef. night—cheese.
Wednesday,	noone—Milk porrage bread & butter. night—pudding pyes without bread.
Thursday,	noone—Boyled beef. night—cheese.
ffryday,	noone—milk porrage bread & butter. night—pudding pyes without bread.
Saturday—	milk porrage with bread & butter at noone. night—cheese.

Every morning 2½ oz. of bread and a supp of drink.
5 oz. of bread att every meal, dynner & supper.'

The first change in this arrangement was proposed in 1684, it being suggested that "boyled Rice" might be a useful alternative for cheese. The suggestion required considerable discussion with the officers. The Steward had to be asked "what a meale of Rice will stand this Hospitall

in," and the Doctor and the Apothecary were called upon to give advice from their point of view. The Steward's report is not on record, but that of the Doctor and the Apothecary stated that "it hath pleased GOD to bless the children of this house with a great deale of health," there being then only three children in the Sick Ward out of 350. So the *status quo* prevailed. Two years later an order was passed substituting "Beanes in the roome of Water-gruel" on "two severall dayes." Another two years, and a sub-committee of medical men was earnestly occupied with further changes. "A meale of Rice once a week instead of Water-gruel" being decided on, the Committee ordered on January 5th, 1689, that "a quantity of Rice of about a Tonn should be provided at the best hand." After six weeks' trial of this, it was proposed "that the children should have buttered wheate for dinners & abate one meale of Rice, it being cheaper and much wholsomer. Wherupon the Com^{ee} are of opinion that they may have two meales of wheate in a weeke (except during Lent) & one of Rice and noe Water-gruel." But in 1694 there was trouble in the rice market; "no Rice to be had upon any Termes whatever"; and this time its place is taken by "barley-broth with a few basket Rasons in it" and by "pease pottage every ffryday." Still they never allowed that the "dyett" of their young charges had reached perfection. In 1706 they were concerned about Wednesday's *menu*, conceiving that there was a lack of bread about it—"only two ounces and a half of bread all that day, which is at breakfast, at Dinner each of them a dish of firmity, and at Supper a pudding pye." The remedy was to have "an addition of half a loafe and one ounce of Butter."

The fattest of the children's days was Sunday, when they had meat twice, and when their digestion seems to have suffered by comparison with leaner days. The Roast Mutton at supper could not be abandoned for the credit of the House, as at that time the British Public was present in force to see them feed. So in 1708 came the question "what spoon meat may be most proper for the children's

dinner on Sundays instead of the boyled beef," and the solution took the less substantial shape of "milk with bread boyled in it." However "from thence sundry inconveniences have arisen" and the "boyled beef" was reinstated. But it took the Governors till 1721 to realise that "the Dyett from Thursday Noon to Sunday Noon was only Bread Butter and Cheese Pease Porridge and Water gruell" and that "the same ought in some way to be amended." So the Committee proposed to insert somewhere during that very lean part of the week a meal of "Leggs and Lynns of Mutton Boyled," and when the matter was taken before the highest tribunal, the Court agreed, but left the choice of joints to the Treasurer.

It has been the custom to abuse the diet at the Hospital in far more recent times than those here referred to, but enough has been said to show that the civic worthies who administered the affairs of the Hospital were ready to go to the limit of their finances in making reasonable changes. That the portions given to each boy were never excessive is only too likely, but Lamb tells us, what everyone's experience will justify at Christ's Hospital and elsewhere, that a "more than Judaic rigour" prevented the youngsters from eating "gags" and "certain kinds of sweet cake." Both Lamb and Leigh Hunt, however, can be quoted to show that the fare at the Public Suppers had ceased in their day to include meat. Lamb says that "the well-lighted hall" looked "more like a concert or assembly than a scene of a plain bread-and-cheese collation," and Leigh Hunt records a tradition "that during the blissful era of the blue velvet, we had roast mutton for supper." The *locus classicus* on the subject of the week's diet is of course the opening lines of "Christ's Hospital Five and Thirty Years Ago," which should be compared with the list already given for 1684, just a century earlier than Lamb's time. There was still "milk porritch, blue and tasteless," and pease-soup "coarse and choking." The "Wednesday's mess of millett" is perhaps the "firmity" of 1706, and "we had three banyan to four meat days in the week." Lamb admits that he

is here making the most of his hardships, but his two friends are equally emphatic. "Our food," Coleridge wrote to Mr. Poole, "was portioned, and, excepting on Wednesdays, I never had a bellyfull. Our appetites were damped, never satisfied; and we had no vegetables." But it is fair to say that in 1832 he writes of such starvation at the School as being an affair of the past. Leigh Hunt, the third of the great literary trio, records that "we were not well fed at that time, either in quantity or quality. . . . Our breakfast was bread and water, for the beer was too bad to drink. . . . Meat only every other day, and that consisting of a small slice, such as would be given to an infant three or four years old. . . . Twice a year (I blush to think of the eagerness with which it was looked for!) a dinner of pork." Leigh Hunt did not apparently know that he owed the last orgie to the express directions of a donor of £250 in the year 1734, who desired to inaugurate a dinner of "either pork or veal Roasted or Boyled as [the Governors] thought proper." I am able to supplement this criticism by an account I obtained a year or two ago from my old friend Mr. Deputy Cox of Newgate Street, who has since gone to his rest at a ripe old age. He entered Christ's Hospital just thirty years after Lamb left it. He too had meat, he told me, only on four days of the week. It "was served on wooden trenchers, and, though good, it was generally dry"; but he backs up the evidence of the others by adding that "there was not sufficient for big boys; all were served alike, and there was no asking for more." Nevertheless the hale old Deputy used to attribute his vigour at ninety years of age to the fact that he had breakfasted at School on bread and water.

Great changes have taken place since Deputy Cox's school days. The wooden trenchers and the wooden spoons have retired to the Museum. I was myself in at the death of the latter at Hertford in 1875. "Small beer," or any other kind of beer is no longer served out as a matter of course, as it was in my time, and the programme for the week, which by the kindness of the present Steward, Mr. A. W. Lockhart,

I am enabled to set off against that of the year 1678, is an intimation that if the young gentlemen are not satisfied, they ought to be! Mr. Lockhart has detailed for me the dinners provided for the school during the week beginning July 7th, 1901, and for the sake of brevity I will take the fare of Ward II. in which I was formerly "Grecian." On Sunday they had lamb and mint sauce, with new potatoes, stewed gooseberries and custard. On Monday, mutton with new potatoes and green peas, with cheese to follow. On Tuesday fried lemon-soles and new potatoes, and boiled jam pudding. Wednesday was a "leave" and those who stayed in school had beef, new potatoes, and cheese. Thursday gave them lamb and beef with lettuce and cheese. Friday, beef and mutton with new potatoes and summer cabbages, and cheese. Saturday, beef and mutton with new potatoes, and cheese.

There is one aspect of the food question, in which most boys are interested, namely, the possibility of buying what is technically termed "tuck." Reference is made elsewhere* to a woman who combined "cobbling" with the keeping of a tuck-shop in 1666, and who evidently sold drink as well as food to the children. But from the close of the seventeenth century the Governors appear to have set their face against any such traffic, which they took as a personal insult to their commissariat. Thus in 1684 "M^r Bennett, smith, and M^r Court, translator to this House, both living within the bounds of this house, did dayly practice" the selling of "drink, bread, and fruit within the bounds . . . to the children, as if they had not enough allowed them for their dayly subsistence." The culprits clearly did not take the indignation of the Committee very seriously, for they requested three months' grace in which "to dispose of such things as they had on their hands, after which they would take in no more beere." But the order was peremptory; they must stop at once. Court, by the way, was an unmitigated pluralist, for in addition to his tuck-shop, he was the "translator" or cobbler, and he received an additional stipend for looking

* See p. 252.



THE GIFFS AND JOHNNY'S

after the School Clock. Again, in 1700, a beadle pleaded for "the same liberty his predecessor had for his wife to sell apples ginger bread and other small things at their door" [probably in the Cloisters]. To him the Committee most solemnly replied with a resolution "that neither Simpson nor any other officer or person whatsoever shall sell or cause to be sold anything within the Verge of this house that's eatable or drinkable to any of the children." At the same time they instructed the Steward to forbid the children to buy. But even while this fiat was in force a Governor stated that he "has for some time observed that Pemberton one of the Beadles or his wife drives a Trade in his House of selling Apples, Plumb-pudding, white-pot, and many other things amongst the children"; and again the Governors stood on their dignity, contending that this "tends not only to the prejudice of the children's health, but alsoe is a disreputation and scandall to the House, it looking as if the children wanted victualls." The fact is, of course, that the Governors were attempting the impossible. The Hospital at the time was an absolute thoroughfare to which hawkers could get admission like anyone else, and the beadles no doubt reasoned that they might as well have the advantage of any trade that was going. The only remedy was the one afterwards adopted of organising the tuck-trade, a system of profit-sharing being introduced in 1799. Thereafter the minutes of the Committee for some years contain a half-yearly statement of what had been earned by "the sale of Fruit and other Articles to the Children." The first six months showed a profit of £55, the second of £57, and in two years the results had risen to nearly £200 annually. The division was made on the principle that two beadles who sold the "Articles" received 5 per cent. on their sales, and the balance was equally distributed among the six beadles. Trollope adds the Steward to those who subsequently divided the spoil. In his time the official "shop" was in the Cloister under Whittington's Library, and a school currency had been substituted for coin of the realm. The "shop" that looms large in the memory of the living has been situated in the

abutment on the opposite side of the Garden and is associated with the honoured name of "Johnny Fletcher." It may be hoped that at West Horsham, where appetites should not be less keen than they are in Newgate Street, there may be a return to the official "shop" of a century ago, and, if in the country the beadle will cease from troubling, the profits might be placed at the disposal of the Games Committee.

DRESS

If there arises some centuries hence a historian of Christ's Hospital, West Horsham, he may have something of interest to tell about diet, but it is hardly likely that he will find anything entrancing in the dress. Nobody supposes that the present habit will long survive the removal of the "Blues" to the country; indeed, it would probably serve the purpose of the new state of things better to introduce at once a more appropriate costume. But no survival in our day, when survivals get fewer by sure degrees, could be happier than that which has preserved almost intact through all the changes of three centuries and a half the dress of the period of the first foundation. The buildings, the fare, the recreations, the educational system, have all been transformed. The dress alone recalls the Tudors. It is however difficult to decide what particular dress of that period it recalls. Leigh Hunt believed "it was the ordinary dress of children in humble life." It has been maintained that it is the garb of the ordinary London 'prentice-boy of that day. Personally I am not anxious to know what it represents, if it is not a development of the monastic habit associated with the very stones of the place. The details of the dress as it prevailed well on into the nineteenth century suggest this rather than any other interpretation. There is the long outer cloak, the long coarse cassock (of yellow) underneath, and the girdle to keep the cloak together. The one sign which I admit makes in favour of a lay rather than a monastic origin is the small epaulette on the coats, which is familiar in every Holbein tunic. I am also bound to admit that the records assign no particular

"inwardness" to the clothes ordered for the children. The first "Annual Accompt" contains the original tailor's bill for the earliest batch of children, which was paid in December 1552. It mentions "shoes," "canvas," "kersies," "cappes," "cottons," and "knytte hosen." The first statement on the subject from outside is supplied by Stow, who got it from Richard Grafton. "On Christmas day [1552] in the afternoone, while the Lord Mayor and Aldermen rode to Powles, the children of Christ's Hospitall stood from Saint Lawrence Lane end in Cheape, towards Powles, all in one liuery of russet cotton," whereas at the following Easter "they were in blew at the Spittle, and so haue continued euer since." It has been assumed that this statement, of whose accuracy there can be no doubt, implies a change in the colour of the coats, so that the "Blue-coat" was once "Red-coat," or whatever hue Stow means by "russet." But a glance at the items in the tailor's bill already given will show that no coats were ordered up to Christmas, while the "kersies" procured in November 1552 are almost certainly the long under-coats reaching almost to the feet, which later generations called "yellows." I think there can be no doubt that, till more funds came in, the children had to be content with these for the time being. Their colour is not specified and may well have been Stow's "russet," and the want of other covering may explain why so many of the first batch of children, in the memorable phrase of John Howes, "dyed down righte." They had to wait for their coats all that winter. The "Accompt" shows an occasional payment of small sums, such as "for the makynge of iiii wastes and ii dubletts. ii^s iiiii^d," but by April the coats were finished and "for the makinge of cccxxii cotes for the children" the tailor was paid at the rate of "vi^d the pere." This entry substantiates Stow's statement that they appeared at the Spital Sermons in "blew," or what he elsewhere calls "plonket coates," with red caps, and it adds probability to the so-called Holbein picture of the presentation of the Charter (which took place two months later), in which the blue coats appear. It may be noted that nothing is said

about the purchase of Linen for the "bands" or ruffs for the neck, and the presumption is that the Governors were in a position to secure this without payment. Edward allowed them to receive a quantity of Church linen, and at the first Court, of which the minutes survive (December 7th, 1556), a motion was passed "that a request might be made to thinhabitants of euerye p'rishe for their olde linnen," as if it were a matter of course.

Before going into any matters of detail, in which the records throw light on the nature of the dress, it will be well to note two rules, which have tended to preserve a rigid pattern and to make it familiar everywhere. First, no child was ever permitted at any time to wear any other dress than the one provided, and it has occasionally been necessary to enforce this not only in the House but outside it. In 1646 "it is found that diuers Children *kept in the Cittie* belonging to his house doe not some tyme weare their blew coates and some tymes not weare their yellow petticoats as they ought to doe." The penalty for such conduct is to be "utterly dismist from the paym^t and clothing of this hospitall ipso facto." The rule, of course, prevails to the present time for all members of the Foundation, except Grecians during vacations, though it is recognised that a boy may vary his dress, if he is taking exercise. The other rule, which in my experience there has been no tendency to transgress, is that nothing must be added to the dress in the way of improvement. But "Blues" have not always been so contented. Notice was "taken by one of the Governors" in 1716 that some of the children "wear fine linnen at their hands and neck, which if permitted may be of ill consequence, it tending only to pride and the ruin of them." Another mention of the same sort of practice, though the conclusion is not quite consistent with the other, occurs in 1758. "Many of the children," it runs, "have their Blue coates after they are delivered to them from the Wardrobe Bound with Galloon or Ferret, and Button Holes between those made by the Taylor worked with Silk, and the Girles their Gowns bound with Galloon or Ferret, which the Nurses



A GRECIAN IN 1816

are paid for by the Children or their Friends,—which if suffered will be of ill Consequence especially to those Children who have no friends.” They were therefore warned that the dress must remain “uniform without addition.”

Taking a “Blue’s” accoutrements from head to foot, one comes naturally to the vexed question of caps. The British public has got so used to pitying the “Blues” on the ground that they must surely be always catching cold, that it will be surprised to hear of a cap as forming part of the dress at all. About this, however, there is not the slightest question. We may take a point in the centre of our period and work backwards and forwards from it. In July 1702 a “Mathemat” decided to “chase.” It was, as will be seen, a habit with “Mathemats” to do so, but this one was exceptional. Most of them ran away to sea: Ben Herne “chased” because he wanted to stay at home. But he was honest enough to have a bundle left at the house of the Chief Clerk, “w^{ch} being opened in presence of the Committee it appeared they were the clothes of Ben Herne, viz^t his Blew-coate, Yellow-coate, Shirt, Shooes, Stockings, Cap, Girdle, and badge.” It has already been noted that “cappes” appear in the first clothing bill, and the records refer constantly to the ordering of further consignments, “against Easter,” in order that the children may look nice at the Spital. Stow tells us that in 1553 the caps were red, but the only survivors of a now departed custom are unquestionably blue. As a matter of industrial history it may be noted that the Committee at one time (1684, and after) procured them from “Litchfield.” But, if the model, which prevailed till caps were abolished in the middle of last century, is any indication of the original shape, they were never of any use as a head-covering, being absurdly small. Indeed the only use for them known by the traditions of the elders was that they were a convenient means of getting a comfortable drink at the Pump, and every “Blue” will acknowledge that the absence of head-gear is not the least acceptable feature of the dress he is so proud to have worn.

The bands which the boys wear at their necks are more difficult to trace in the early minutes of the committees. The Governors of November 1552 paid something for "cottons," which were doubtless to be made into shirts, and as the bands may fairly be taken to descend from the turn-over collar of the Tudor period, they were probably attached at the beginning to the shirts. Indeed I have found no reference to them at all till 1759, when there was an order that "in future the Boys be allowed yearly two Bands only instead of three." By that time they were clearly separate entities, and how they were kept on no one knows. But, as long as "Blues" now living can remember they have been fastened with pins, to the great detriment of the linen and to the enhanced value of a pin within the confines of the Hospital. This strange habit may have prevailed for longer than one would suppose. For a Matron of the year 1736, who, I grieve to say, supplied the chronicler with a chance of using about her that favourite phrase, "disguised in liquor," was alleged to have "embazelled" some of the stores committed to her for distribution. Among her defalcations is the item of "207,082 pins"—neither more nor less—valued at £10 7s. There must have been considerable use for the article to give rise to a supply of such quantities.

Everyone knows the fashion of the Christ's Hospital coat. Its type has long been fixed, but it has had its changes like other things. There was a time (1638) when the fiat went forth that the coats should be "made with hooks and lyes, and none with buttons." How long this prevailed it is hard to say. Possibly it was still the rule in 1706 when it was "ordered that consideration shall be had at some other time about allowing the children a set of brass buttons yearly." Buttons were certainly the mode in 1758 when, as the result of the extravagant habits already referred to, a committee was called to settle the uniform beyond all question. "The Boys Clothes," their resolution ran, "shall be made agreeable to a Coat produced to this Committee with Buttonholes overcast, and the Coats be always buttoned by the Taylor with White Metal Buttons

with the Head of King Edward the Sixth Founder of this Hospital." Many "Blues" can remember this soft metal button, which has been replaced by one of a more modern substance, and can recall the tradition to which Leigh Hunt refers, that the original article was of silver, to suit a storied coat made of the finest velvet. But few save those who have worn it know that the lining of the coat, like the ancient kersey and the modern stocking, is of a brilliant yellow, and has been so since the year 1638. On June 3rd, 1636, it had been "ordered and agreed that all the Welsh cottons which shall hereafter be bought into this House for the use of the children either for petticoates or otherwise shall be dyed with a yallowe couller," and eighteen months later the reason for the change leaks out, when it is decided (January 23rd, 1638) that the "lynnings" for the coats shall also be "dyed yallowe as well as ye petticoates to avoid vermin by reason the white cottens is held to breed the same." I am not chemist enough to say how far their reasoning was sound; but there is the fact that yellow as a large component in the colour scheme of the Christ's Hospital dress had a sanitary and not an æsthetic origin.

The "yellow," a long shapeless smock, which up to 1865 was worn under the coat in winter, and in previous times was worn summer and winter alike, is variously described in the records as a "Kersey" or "petticoat." They were of course purchased at various times in bulk, as for instance when in 1676 the Treasurer and several Governors were requested to go to Blackwell Hall, one of the great mercantile centres and the property of Christ's Hospital, "to buy cottons and kersies for the use of the children." Later, they got into the way of securing them direct from the manufacturers, and in 1734 it is stated that the kerseys were being made "near Halifax in Yorkshire," whence they came to London by sea, for the sake of economy. The same motive entered into the method of disposing both of coats and kerseys, when they had served their time on the children's backs. There was an order in 1686 that the nurses were "to bring into the Wardrob all the Children's old Coates, as,

when any of the Nurses shall have occasion for any old Coates to mend others, or to make Mopps," the Wardrobe-Keeper can give them out. The new coats came in at Easter, and a batch of the discarded coats was usually sent down to clothe the Hertford boys. It was the rule of the House, at any rate in 1760, that "the yellow coat be washed once in a quarter of a year."

To make this survey complete it is necessary to mention the breeches, and it must be confessed that their annals are briefer than those of the other items in the dress. They did not come into vogue until 1736, when there is a pitiable mention in the minutes of "the great inconveniency more especially attending the sick and weakly children in this House for want of Breeches." Even then they were not universally adopted but were given to such "sick and weakly children as the Doctor or Surgeon or either of them shall at any time think necessary," and in the first instance they were made of leather. The decision as to the "uniform" for every boy as settled in 1758 makes no mention of them at all. But by 1760 it was considered that the boys should have "each yearly two pair of Breeches made of Russia drab, instead of the Leather Breeches they now have." The expression "Russia drab" may serve to describe the breeches still worn by the rank and file. It is one of the coveted privileges of Greciandom to wear breeches that make some pretence of fitting and are built of a less out-of-the-way material.

Of the famous stockings, which will soon cease to be a daily topic with the rude boy in the City streets, the records of the Hospital are almost silent. But they make up for it by saying a great deal about the shoes, which seem to have caused considerable difficulty. The first instance I have found of trouble in this department occurred in 1637, when the Committee found that "the house hath been much wronged in the shooes, and that the prizes are sett downe in divers orders but not of what goodnes of Leather they should bee made." They were paying at the rate of fourteen shillings the dozen pairs, and ought to get them for less.

They thought that "one halfe of the shooes being of the biggest size shall be made of good neats leather liquored, and Tallowed soles, and the other halfe to be made of good Calves Leather and Tallowed soles." Six months later the Translator—for such was the not unhappy title of the Hospital cobbler—gave notice to leave as he could not make it pay, and in 1695 the succeeding Translator, a lady, also put in a complaint that she was losing money by her contract because "she hath not y^e benefitt of small sized shoes amongst y^e greater in respect the Hospital hath admitted no children for three years last past." Again the Translator of 1661, one Joseph Martin, pleaded for an increase of salary on account of "the excessive deereness of leather," because the number of the children has considerably increased and because "he hath mended the childrens shooes that are called by the name of Mr. Aldworth's children." The Committee came to an arrangement with him, but it clearly did not settle the difficulty for long. The everyday shoes of 1669 were so bad that the children "are in danger of their healths," while in 1735 the children were "in general almost bear-foot by reason of the length of time of their not having shoes from Easter to Bartholomewtide" (no very long space for a pair to last). However it was in 1735 that the Committee, discarding the handiwork of the "Translator," except for mere "translating," decided to procure the shoes from Northampton at two shillings a pair; whereupon there was less to complain of as regards the durability of the goods supplied. But every generation has been compelled to make its feet fit the shoes,—which has not tended to the shapeliness of Christ's Hospital feet.

As the girls of the Hospital have for some years past adopted a comparatively modern costume, it may be well to add a word as to their dress, about which the records are unfortunately not very communicative, nor does the wordy Trollope think the matter worth notice. Happily its picturesque character is not likely to be forgotten, for there are statues at Hertford and an admirable picture in the

Museum, which preserve the details for us. That the school dress must always be worn, and none other, was the rule for them as well as for the boys, and an extract given above shows that it was equally illegal for a feminine taste for finery to add "galloon" or "ferret" to the accepted pattern. There seems to have been an occasional variation of colour, for in 1717 there was reported to be need of "a sufficient supply of *green* say to be made into aprons for the use of the Maiden children at Hertford," while in 1759 it was agreed that they should "be allowed yearly in future 3 new *blue* aprons, 2 of w^{ch} are to be deliver'd Clean to each girl, weekly." The special committee that sat in March 1758, besides settling the amount of under-linen to be provided for them, arranged that they should "have three Peaks, Three Coifs, and Four Pair of Stockings every Year." With them, as with the boys, there was more trouble about their shoes than about the rest of their clothing. For a long time they submitted to be shod on the same pattern as their male colleagues, but in 1724 the Committee agreed to a motion "in behalf of the girles of this House that they may be allowed high heel'd shoes in the Room of the shoes they have been used to wear in comon with the Boyes." Such a concession to fashion seems to have obviated further complaints.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SCHOOL AT CHURCH

"The Christ's Hospital boy is a religious character."—CHARLES LAMB.

"We rivalled the monks in the religious part of our duties."—LEIGH HUNT.

A SCHOOL so closely connected in its origin with an ecclesiastical foundation as Christ's Hospital with the Grey Friars was bound to maintain the union of interest between the two. It was therefore only natural, when the minster of the Franciscans became the church of the neighbouring parishes, that Christ Church should serve as the chapel of the school. It was over three hundred feet long. It had a large choir and an enormous nave, and must have been well supplied with side chapels, which could have been set apart for the use of the children. Anyhow, no chapel was ever erected within the walls of the Hospital. The hall had its pulpit from the latter part of the seventeenth century, and in recent years the old hall's successor has been comfortably adapted to the requirements of an evening service. The "Blues," in fact, with certain exceptions to be noticed presently, have always formed part and, for the last quarter of a century, a very large proportion of the congregation of Christ Church.

So it will be expected that the Hospital's records should have something to say of the history of this close bond between the parish church and the school; and it may be confessed at once that the history does not always speak of placid contentment. A self-governing institution has a natural bias against being considered part of the life of a parish. Energetic and impetuous vicars, and, worse still,

vicars who were impetuous without the energy, were apt to assert their right to "visit" within the precincts, and the authorities of the school were just as apt to cut the visit short at the lodge-gates. On the other hand, so large an institution in a parish of small area could never confer any great advantage on the parish, and has sometimes been a source of serious loss, as will presently appear.

We have already been introduced to "one Thomas Bryckett, Vicar of Christes Church," the earliest occupant of the benefice under Henry VIII.'s Letters, whose lodging was in the monastery before it was fitted for its future tenants. The arrangements made for his removal by the Governors seem to have been amicable enough, and he doubtless found a comfortable lodging in the parish. However, ten years later I find a reference in the earliest surviving Court Book (September 27th, 1557), to the apparent homelessness of the vicar. He "specially sueth for" the "next advoydance of one of the new tements belonginge to St. Bartholomewes Hospitall lyinge in Christe proche (parish)." At the "speciall instance and request of my lorde maio^r," the vicar was allowed to have one of these houses at the rent then paid, "duringe so longe tyme as the same vicar shall continewe Vicar of the said Christe Church." The strange thing is that the vicar at once let the house on lease to St. Bartholomew's Hospital during his life for £4 a year; so the apparent result of his petition was an addition of that sum yearly to his stipend of £26 13s. 4d. It should be added that of course this gift is not represented by the present vicarage, which was rented by the Rev. Michael Gibbs from St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and by a generous arrangement became the freehold of the benefice under his successor.

But though there was no corporate connexion between church and hospital, matters were bound to arise to draw the two together. For example, Lady Ramsey, who was buried in Christ Church, "did devise and give for the preachinge of two sermons yearly in Christ Church, y^e one on S^t Stephens Day in y^e afternoon and the other the first Sunday

in Lent xlth yearly." But it turned out in 1604 that the hour of the St. Stephen's day service was inconvenient, "for that the Aldermen and gouernours that shoulde be presente therat cannot bee there so soone for that many of them dine at the Lord Maiors and Sherifes the same day, whereby the time is late before they can come." So, without any apparent reference to the vicar, the Court decreed that the St. Stephen's Day service "shalbee referred till 4 of the clock in the same afternoone and the other sermon for the first Sunday in lent to continue as it is." Lady Ramsey was not the only benefactor who thought that it was a good thing to send the Governors to church on definite occasions. Custom, as elsewhere referred to, has decided that the Lord Mayor and Corporation should attend at Christ Church on St. Matthew's Day by invitation of the Governors, and that the Governors should attend at Easter by invitation of the Lord Mayor and the Corporation. The Protestantism of the Hospital showed itself in a Gunpowder Plot sermon on November 5th, endowed by Mr. Humble in 1640, and in the bequest of Thomas Barnes for a sermon on November 17th, the accession day of Queen Elizabeth. The Gunpowder Plot might be aptly remembered in a church which contained a Digby tomb, and the portrait of Barnes, which hangs in the Court Room, makes it no wonder that he was determined to perpetuate "the completion of the Reformation in England"; for his complexion is perfect Puritanism. Of the endowment which he left for the purpose the Charity Commissioners have decreed that other use should be made, but the practice of the Reformation sermon is being maintained, so long as the boys of the Hospital are resident in the parish. Another ceremony at Christ Church, for which it is the duty of the Governors to make arrangements, is connected with the name of Sir John Gayer, who is more familiarly known as the founder of the "Lion" Sermon at St. Catherine Cree Church. He was not only a brave traveller and a courageous Alderman, as Charles and the Protector alike discovered, but he was also keenly interested in Christ's Hospital. In October 1648, at a time

of national unrest, the Governors showed their sense of his public spirit by electing him President. At least, so I interpret their action. For in the spring of that year, Gayer, then Chief Magistrate, was required to assist in providing a subsidy for the Commonwealth men. The ward-lists were to be gone through by each alderman, and men who could afford to subscribe £50 were to be ticked off. Gayer refused, as he had done when Charles made similar demands in 1640. He was ousted from the Mansion House, and sent to the Tower, a Parliamentarian being made Lord Mayor in his place. He was released in June 1648, and in October the election of President of the Hospital took place. Among the candidates were the Parliamentarian Lord Mayor and the Lord Mayor Elect; but the Governors chose Sir John Gayer. During the few following months he was occupied in settling the details of his gift to Christ's Hospital, the final "draught of the gift of Sir John Gare" being submitted to him in May 1649. He was President long enough to preside over three general Courts, or rather less than a year.

To return to his connexion with Christ Church. His will directs that every *eighth* year it shall be read audibly to the Governors at a Court-meeting; after which they are to go to the Church to hear a sermon. He wished certain gifts to be made at the same time to the preacher, the Treasurer, the Grammar Master, and the like, and he ordained "a dinner in roast beef or other cates for the children." The total of the yearly gift was £25, and in the seven intervening years the money was employed in apprenticing the children when they left school. The sermon was last preached in Christ Church in November 1897.

There is one other occasion of the same sort which brings the Hospital and the Church together each year. Among the many charities, which make Christ's Hospital much more a vast benevolent institution than merely a school, is the one connected with Mistress Sarah Bowerman and dating from 1727. It gives pensions "to such and so many honest, reduced, and distressed widows (not being pensioners) of

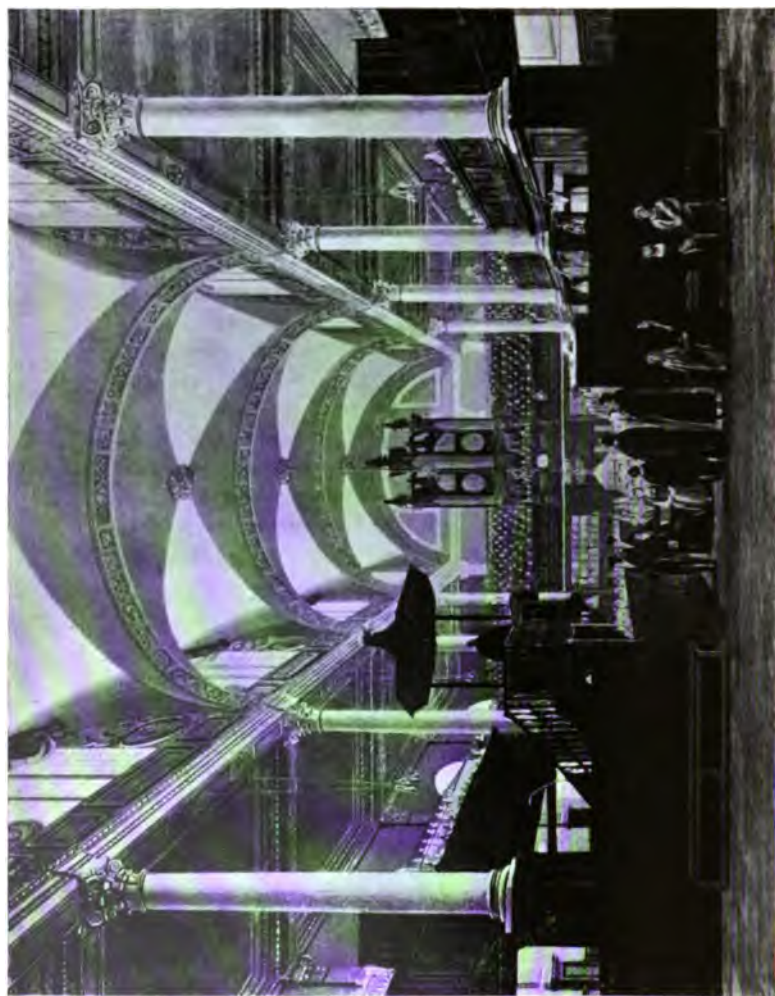
traders, tradesmen, or others, in the out parts of the City of London, and in the out parts adjacent on the north side of the river Thames, that were not or should not be entitled to receive any of the charitable gifts or annuities" of the City. She also arranged that yearly on January 7th, being the anniversary of the death of her sister, "some good and sufficient preacher" should be procured for a service at Christ Church, to be attended by all her pensioners, "unless disabled by sickness or otherwise, in which case they should procure some other matronlike women to appear and attend for them."

These instances will serve to show that the relations between the parish church and the school involve a certain amount of intimacy. But the proper way to realise the true connexion of the two is to remember that from beginning to end, with very slight breaks, Christ Church without ceasing to be a parish church has served as the school chapel. Up to the time when the Hospital decided to have evening service for the boys in the Hall, it can hardly be questioned that the arrangement involved some loss to the boys. In a school which has no Sunday service of its own both masters and scholars are at an undoubted disadvantage. On the other hand the arrangement of the last hundred years, by which the school takes part in an ordinary parish service in the morning and has its own private service in the evening, may be of unusual benefit—if the parish church makes an effort to meet the needs of the younger part of the congregation.

But it is quite easy to pardon the first Governors for not building a chapel in the Hospital. The huge Abbey stood at its very gate, and there must have been sufficient room in Queen Margaret's choir alone to accommodate both the scholars and the parishioners. The "west church" or nave seems to have been let to a schoolmaster, after it was cleared of the plunder taken in the war with France in 1546; but a sentence in the records of a long controversy between the Hospital and the parish after the Fire makes it clear that worship of some sort was held in the nave. For the parish

in 1696 reminded the Governors that since the Fire they had not paid the usual £6 a year for a Morning Lecture in the Church; and the Governors replied that the Lecture was no longer given; it was to take place "in the lower parte of the Church and not to the parish." But as a matter of fact a gallery was ultimately erected for the children at the west end of the choir of the old church; indeed their place was described at the time of the building of the present church as being "where the organ is now erecting." The School's records are not very clear on the point, but the records of the parish are fortunately rather more definite. Here are the minutes of a vestry held on December 14th, 1657: "Forasmuch as the Children of Christe Hospitall doe on Saboth days *sitt behind the Pulpitt* in the upper part of the said Church where (it is conceaved) they cannot heare and so receave noo benefitt by the word, Therefore for their better accomodation the Governors of the said Hospitall are about to erect for them a large gallery crosse y^e body of the said Church below the pulpitt, which will also (as is alleadged) be a great helpe to the Minister in contracting and keepeing his voice in a narrower roome and compasse; But y^e Parishioners"—the minute goes on to explain—thought the gallery would be "a great defacing" of the church and no help to the minister's voice. So they petitioned against it; but in vain, for the Governors had their way.

Wherever they sat, their attendance at the old church came to an end with the great Fire. It may be questioned whether the Fire or Sir Christopher Wren is guilty of the ultimate disappearance of the Franciscan Abbey. It will be seen in the account of the effects of the Fire on the Hospital's buildings that the windows of the Church were "very little damnified"; and here also the parochial minutes are of use. A few lines from the proceedings of a Vestry on November 3rd, 1670, speak of the churchwardens laying out money "for the cleareing the upper and Lower Churches, removeing Stones and makeing Doores and other things necessary thereabouts," as if the main part



CHRIST CHURCH IN 1816

of the fabric were still standing. Anyhow the children had to be accommodated elsewhere, and it was natural that they should find a refuge in St. Bartholomew the Great. But in 1672 the Committee was asked to treat with the Parishioners for seats in the "tabernacle" (the temporary wooden building erected within the walls of the choir of Christ Church)—"it being found very inconvenient for the children to go to Great St. Barthus church." So the Committee "went to the Tabernacle att Christ's Church and there reveiued the intended place for the children of this Hospitall to sitt in. Mr Goodchild the carpenter being present demanded £15 for the doing thereof, the Hospitall finding all materialls." But they offered him £12, and "bid him not meddle" unless he would keep within that sum. In 1680 the school was once more attending the church in West Smithfield, which the nineteenth century restored into one of the wonders of England. "It was agreed" (February 3rd, 1680) "that the Lecturer of St. Bartholomew the great shall have x^s per q^r paid to him as the gift of this house for soe long time as the children shall go to that church, and no longer; the parish haveing been very kind in the entertainment of the children att their church, since the late fire hath burnt downe Christ Church." But it would appear that the preacher did not long enjoy his "x^s per q^r"; for in December, 1683, the Treasurer records that he has ordered, "upon a presumption of the concurrence of the Almoners, the children's seats to be matted for their more reverent behaviour in their change of jestures in the time of the Divine Service in the Church—it being said that in kneeling they made more than ordinary noise which is now prevented." I take this to imply that they were once more in the "Tabernacle," which probably stood while Wren's new church was built up round it. By 1685, it was time to consider where the children should be located in the new edifice, and a deputation waited on Sir Christopher Wren "concerning a gallary to be built in Christ Church for the children of this Hospital to sit in. He promised a gallary should be built at the publick charge as soone as conveniently may be."

But, as the gallery question was not to be settled all at once without some loss of amiability on both sides, it will be well to notice that a certain amount of friction had arisen between the Church and the Hospital at this period. Hitherto, except for the difficulty about the foundlings, they had lived at peace, and in the matter of the foundlings there was sufficient blame on both sides to have produced a settlement of differences. It was true that children "dropped" at the School gates became chargeable to the parish; but any stir at the Church was calculated to increase the traffic *within* the Hospital and with it the chance of laying children down in the cloisters. In 1645, when the Puritan preachers were beginning to stir the metropolis, the beadles were ordered to be especially watchful "to prevent the laying downe of children on y^e lecture dayes in Christ Church . . . which may happen by the concourse of people passing to and fro upon those dayes." But the Hospital began to be more and more jealous of its rights. It was, for instance, customary to employ the parish sexton for digging any graves that were needed in the Hospital's burying-ground, at an inclusive fee of twenty shillings a year. The new sexton appointed in 1666 was told that "the Treasurer would not give liberty to him or to any person to use the Churchyard for a drying-place for clothes or otherwise whatsoever." The churchyard in question must of course have lain inside the Hospital, if the Treasurer had any control over it, and is obviously the graveyard beneath the east end of the Hall, which was disused by Act of Parliament in 1795. Again, during the incumbency of William Jenkins (1643-62), the Presbyterian who was ousted at the Restoration and spent the last two-and-twenty years of his life in Newgate, he "did hold and enjoy a passage through a door made in the Brickwall on the Northside of the Town-ditch, which doore was to continue unto him but dureing his being Minister of Christ Church, and no longer." On his expulsion, this privilege was withdrawn, as being of "daingerous consequence," and the Minutes are unfortunately silent as to the use which the passage was to the vicar.

Under his successor, Richard Henchman, relations seem to have been amicable. In 1671 "upon the request of the inhabitants of Butcher Hall Lane, it was ordered by the Court that a Doore to the passage that leads out of this Hosp. into Butchershall Lane shall be opened every morning by the Porter of the Hosp: and lockt up at nights as anciently." This, of course, refers to the cobble-paved roadway on the north side of Christ Church. The parish is possessed of a strip six feet wide from the church wall, the Hospital owns the rest, and the gates are still closed at night by arrangement between school and parish. But the next vicar, Edmund Shering (or Sherring) came in for a long period of dissension, beginning in 1678 and lasting throughout his incumbency. The chief cause of trouble was an action of Sir Christopher Wren's, which involved undoubted injustice to the parish. As Surveyor-General he resolved that the nave of Christ Church should not be rebuilt, but the ground left as a churchyard. He therefore pulled down what the Fire had partially spared. The Hospital was employing him to rebuild or repair its premises, and there is not much doubt that he procured an order from the Court of Aldermen and the Bishop of London to "make a new ward . . . next the scite of the late Parish Church of Christ Ch. . . . to take down part of the old wall (which is not to be rebuilt and was formerly called the Old Church) . . . to the length of 162 feet or thereabouts." This was decided in September 1678, and natural objections were raised by St. Bartholomew's Hospital as the patrons and by the parishioners in vestry. The former withdrew their opposition, but Mr. Shering and the vestry protested, as well they might. They "think not fitt," they said, "to consent to it nor are they willing to part with or that any part should be alienated to any other use." In the following January they claimed compensation both for their north and for their west wall, and were told that the Governors had an order about the north wall, on which the "Latin School" was subsequently erected, and that the west wall had been pulled down "by order of Sir

Christoph. Wren Surveigher Gen^{al}." As for the "inconveniences" the parish had suffered, "the Committee recommended the Court to build them a vestry house of one room of the same length and breadth" and to mend "the fence on y^e Northside of the Tabernacle,"—no extravagant compensation for a loss that to-day would represent some thousands of pounds.

But the Governors had not done with Mr. Shering. In November 1685 they brought him to book over Mr. Humble's Gunpowder Plot sermon, already alluded to. "M^r Treas^r was desired to write a letter to S^r W^m Humble to know his pleasure, whether the xx^s given by his father for a sermon to be made and preached in Christs Church on 5th November should be paid to Mr. Shering the Minister thereof, who neither made nor preached a sermon on that day, but read a Homily, excusing himselfe that he had not timely notice." At their next meeting they had "a considerable debate about this affaire," and were "satisfyed that M^r Shering although he had notice did neither make nor preach a sermon on the said 5th of Nov^r last . . . and hath noe just claims to the said xx^s." Whether Mr. Shering wanted to have his revenge or not, there was soon some further difficulty, this time (1689) about the position of the new organ, which happily remains to this day as a monument of the skill of Renatus Harris. The church authorities wanted it where it now stands; the school claimed that this has been their place in the old building; the parishioners replied "that they sat there onely by permission, having noe right thereto." So the quarrel came before the Bishop's vicar-general, who decided "that there is not any place in the said church more convenient" for the organ than the one selected; and further, that the children of the Hospital lately displaced by the cutting downe of the seates," being "hindered from the sight and hearing of the minister, be conveniently seated in the gallaries on the North and South side of the Church next adjoining to the gallery at the West End of the same to the number of eighty." After this came "a large debate" between the

parties, with the result that the parish agreed "that the Officers and children of this Hospitall have a right to come to the said church as they have hitherto done, and shall not be hindered by them (the parishioners) from coming to their gallary." The decision of the parish was a wise one, for the Governors have always been generous to the church in supporting any object in which the comfort of the boys was concerned. For the moment they were busy making arrangements for the occupation of the gallery, and four days after the above concordat was established, an order went out that "the Steward of this Hospitall shall sit in the gallery of Christ Ch. on the North Side and the Matron on the South side, that soe between them they may view and observe" their respective charges.

But there were matters of conflict outstanding for the next seven or eight years. The parish still went on demanding some rent for its lost church wall. They also asked for rent "for the church-yard neare the sick-ward of this Hospitall, which the parish have had the use of for many yeares (the Hospitall holding the same by lease of the City of London)." The Minister also wanted to be paid "ffees of several officers according to the table of fees." But they got no satisfaction, being informed on the last point that the School officers "have time out of mind and may still have liberty to be buryed in the Cloysters and their Churchyard, without any duty for the said ground or otherwayes, save only what's paid to the Sexton, Bearers, &c. . . . And besides the curate receives 20^s p. ann. for buryall and christening of the Hospitall children"—a strange course, considering that several of the resident masters were in holy orders and would have thought themselves passing rich on an addition of that sum to their salary.

Still, peace was proclaimed before the close of the seventeenth century, and the energies of the Governors were directed towards seeing that the staff and the children were regular in their attendance. Indeed, in 1689 it was agreed that the children "might have liberty to goe wednesdayes and ffrydayes to the Lent sermons that are appointed to be

preached in Christ's Church." The officers had a pew in the north gallery, and in 1698 Mr. Parrey, the chief clerk, was specially reprimanded for preferring the Court Room and his cups to divine service. "M^{rs} Matron" was always to be accompanied by the "nurses" in the south-side "pew just before the Maiden children." It may be added that the gallery accommodation in Christ Church was obviously increased after Wren's time, as appears from the colour of the panelling of the two eastern portions on each side, these bays being used by the children of the Ward Schools. Of the horrors and the giddy tremors, which were the fate of those who had to sit in these seats, it is not necessary to speak. But it would be safe to say that up to the year 1896, when the boys left the galleries for good, Christ Church has witnessed as much patience in tribulation as any sacred building in the kingdom. In my own time, we only attended morning service, which lasted two very long hours; but there are plenty of "Blues" alive who had to double the agony by going again in the afternoon. But back in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the children had to endure the further infliction of "Catechise" in the evening. Nor was there any relaxation at the times when the church was shut up "upon occasion of beautifying and repairing"; for instance, in 1708, just after Wren's tower was finished, there was need of some other arrangement for the children's devotions. Mountfort, the Grammar Master, was sent for and asked if he would read service and preach in the Hall, but answered that "he would desire to be excused from preaching." "Catechise" was enough for him. So Mr. Betts, curate of Christ Church, was hired "for twenty shillings for every Sunday" to read prayers in Hall "forenoon and afternoon and preach a sermon in the forenoon and afternoon." One can hardly imagine a modern-style head master allowing his ministerial functions to lapse into the hand of a neighbouring curate.

This chapter would not be complete without some reference to the music of the services, with which the Hospital authorities had much to do. Robert Dow's Song

School, as detailed elsewhere,* involved the attendance of his boys in "the quire of Christ Church," and William Parker's foundation of 1613 meant that the parishioners should employ £10 a year in training a "Blue" to "serve and be employed in playing of the organs of the said church." But in 1642, perhaps to please the Puritans, the organ was taken down, and it is doubtful whether the bequest has ever been put into force with anything like regularity. However, it does not require either Dow's gift or Parker's to show that in a congregation, which two hundred years ago contained at least 900 school-children, the success or the collapse of the singing was largely in their hands. I have so far discovered only one instance, which may be either historically rare or a specimen of many that might have been recorded; I hope the former. It is dated September 30th, 1737, and speaks of "the irregular and Disorderly singing of the Children in Christ Church to the great interruption and disturbance of the Congregation." To remedy so sad a state of things the Governors arranged that Mr. Herwood, the Music Master, should teach the boys of the Singing School the proper Psalm tunes (probably set to a metrical version). Then the Song School boys "when perfect therein shall every night in the week (Sundays excepted) goe by rotation into the severall wards immediately after supper, and instruct the other children in the same. The said Boys to be silenced in the Church, Ward, and Hall until perfect therein." At the time when I write, the morning service in Christ Church depends far more than in 1737 on the participation of the "Blues," and it may be doubted if there is a heartier service in the kingdom. The pity of it, that within a few months their places will know them no more!

* See above, p. 137.

CHAPTER XII.

OF GREAT OCCASIONS

"Perhaps there is not a foundation in the country so truly English."

LEIGH HUNT.

IT is obvious that a Foundation situated where Christ's Hospital is, wearing a habit such as the "Blues" still affect, and with the prestige (if nothing more practical) of various Royal patrons, should have an almost prescriptive right to take its part in any ceremonial functions that turn aside the City for a moment from the pursuit of gain. It will be remembered that at the Jubilee of 1897 the boys were privileged to take their stand by the Mansion House; but it is not so generally known that among the spectators in front of the Mansion House that day was an aged clergyman,* who as head "Grecian" had presented an address to her Majesty on the day she first entered the City as Queen sixty years before, and who is still living in 1901. If it were necessary, it would be easy to complete a chain of such public appearances of the "Blues" link by link right back to the later Tudors. An instance or two will suffice. The first of these congratulatory orations is usually connected with the name of Edmund Campion, the famous Jesuit. He is supposed (though for want of the earliest list of names the fact is incapable of proof) to have entered Christ's Hospital at the age of twelve during the first year of its foundation, and to have been chosen by competition among the London Grammar Schools to address Queen Mary on her entry into London in 1553. The Hospital's natural feeling of attachment to the Stuarts was no bar to its

* The Rev. Frederick Gifford Nash, vicar of Clavering.



QUEEN VICTORIA AT TEMPLE BAR, NOVEMBER 9, 1837

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE REV. D. F. HEYWOOD

readiness to do honour to "Dutch William," and we find an order of the Court of Aldermen for "a stand in St. Paul's Churchyard, about five and twenty foote southward from Mr. Barnardiston's shop at the North entrance in the yard, and soo aboute one hundred foote southward for y^e accommodation of the Blew-coate children . . . on Saturday the 29th of this instant October [1692] at the time of their Ma^{ties} passing there to the Guildhall." Again, it was announced that Queen Anne would dine at the Guildhall on Lord Mayor's Day, 1702, and the record of October 21st runs that the Governors "have liberty to erect a seate or stand in St. Paul's Churchyard for the accomodation of the children of that Hospitall *as formerly they have done upon like occasions.*" In the case of the speech to George I. (September 10th, 1714) arrangements were made for "severall fair Coppys to be made to be presented to the Treasurer and such persons as shall request the same." George II.'s procession in November 1727 had to put up with a more than usual stoppage while three addresses were delivered by three Grecians to their Majesties, the young prince, and the princesses, "on their goeing to Guildhall to dine with the Lord Mayor." At the time of George III.'s visit (November 9th, 1761) application was made to the Dean of St. Paul's "for liberty to erect a scaffold on the East Side of St. Paul's Church Yard close to the Rails and fronting St. Paul's School." The speech this time was written by Peter Whalley, the Upper Grammar Master, and is recorded in the minutes to have been spoken "with the greatest propriety of voice and action" by Josiah Disturnell, the senior Grecian, who in the Hospital's benefice of Wormshill, Kent, survived by fourteen years the long reign of the monarch whom he addressed, and thus forms an interesting parallel with the Grecian who addressed Queen Victoria on a similar occasion. The speech was a lurid illustration of the vanity of human wishes. It prayed that the "dread sovereign" and his consort might be "strangers to the disquietude which often dwells within the circle of a crown" and have "every comfort of parental felicity." Anyhow it was received "with seeming marks of

approbation," and "on their Majesty's coach moving on all the children chanted very harmoniously God Save the King. Amen."

But "great occasions" must unfortunately be held to include more than the days when citizens "put on their best attire" and "cull out a holiday." Situated in the very heart of the City, the school has "mourned" as well as "piped." It has been liable to the stress of political upheaval, to the storms of religious excitement, and to the scourge of the "Visitations" of GOD. In order of time, the last may well be considered first. How did the "Blues" fare under all that is comprehended in the word "Plague"? Antecedently it might be supposed that they would come off badly. The "Towne Ditch" ran right through the grounds, and at the first it was not even deemed necessary to cover it over; even when this was done at the expense of one John Calthrop, a citizen, soon after the foundation of the school, its presence was probably brought home to the nostrils of the children with painful frequency. Indeed a bishop-historian, "dead ere his prime," once suggested to me that Ewen's gift of the site to the Friars may have been due to his difficulty in disposing of it in any more profitable manner. Add to this that the neighbourhood abounded in slaughter-houses, and the only wonder is that the mortality was not greater. As a matter of fact, references in the books to the Sickness are very few in number. Thus, in 1603, the school's first jubilee, it was resolved "that their shalbe paid to William Martin Surgeon to this House as benevolence for his great paines taken with the children of this House that hath bin visited with plauge the some of three pounds," and the sickward-nurse received "xxxs." But, of course, the trouble was terribly increased through the system of day-boys, whether sons of freemen or paying pupils from all parts of the City. In this particular case of 1603 no attempt at quarantine was made until July, when it was found that "the infection of the plauge doth greatly increase and many children of poore men in most partes of this citty, dwelling as well in the parishes that are infected as in the parishes that are not, come to this house

to schoole and are heer taught, which is very daungerous to the children, which praised be to God are yet in good health." Now any interference with the pay-scholar system needed to be handled gently, for it was almost all the masters had to live on. Therefore, when the Governors decreed that the schools should be "dissolued untill it shall please GOD the infeccon doe cease or otherwise untill Michaelmas next," it was deemed wise to send for the masters and "request them to content themselves therewith" and "wander not abroad." The Hospital children they must teach where and as well as they can. Again in the autumn of 1637 there was an outbreak which affected the school at least in some degree. In this case "M^r Humphry Waynman, Maister of the Lady Ramsies free Writing School," was not able to "content himself therewith." He pleaded that "keeping schoole" had been "forbidden by Authority in the sicknes tyme" and he had lost considerably in income. Nor had the plague spared his family, for he had "lately buryed two of y^e sickness." So the Governors, with a graceful compliment to his "great care and paines," gave him £10 as a solatium. Of the great Visitation of 1665 there is no notice in the records till the calamity is overpassed. In December of that year practically the whole staff took advantage of the Humphry Waynman precedent, and have left us some interesting reasons for so doing. They declared (December 12th, 1665) that "during all this time of sickness and mortallitie they had been resident and carefull in the faithfull discharge of their severall offices and places and had therein been exercised with extriordinary paines and trouble about the poore children of this Hospitall. And that God had given such a blessing to their endeavours that all this time of sickness not more than 32 children of the number of 260 in the house are dead of all deseases." The gifts presented to them amounted to £40 and varied from £4 downwards, but M^r Helmes, the Grammar Master, who represented that "all his pay-schollers were dismist by order, which was the greatest parte of his livelihood," received a separate present of £10. It cannot be questioned

that these practical compliments were richly deserved. The Plague had come to the very doors of the Hospital; it had been announced in July that Pincock (Pintock or Pentecost) Lane, which ran into what is now King Edward Street, was heavily "infected." As it was full of slaughter-houses, it is not wonderful that it should be. Besides, the grounds of the Hospital were such a public thoroughfare that isolation of any effective kind must have been exceedingly difficult, especially when there were anxious parents in all parishes of the plague-stricken city wanting to be assured that their "Blue" children were safe.

But the Great Fire showed less consideration, and its effect was recorded on the minutes by some scribe within a few days and perhaps a few hours of its cessation. "It pleased Almighty GOD," says the chronicler, "by a dreadful fyre which began att a house in Pudding Lane near to New Fish Streete to burne and consume the 3rd parte of the City of London with some parte of the Freedom to Temple Barr. Of all the 97 parishes within the walls but 12 are standing and St. Sepulchres and St. Bride's were burnt without the walls. This terrible fire began at the place before mentioned on Sunday morning being the 2nd day of September, 1666, and continued about 4 dayes. By which fire this hospitall of Christ's was almost consumed with the two great Churches adjoining, excepting the 4 cloysters to which y^e fire hath done no hurt and aboute 3 wards towards the sickward and severall other roomes there, as also the wardrobe of this hospitall over the south cloyster, the glazed windows of the church on that side being very little damnified."

The first question of a kindly reader will be as to the fate of the children, and happily he can soon be reassured. In recent times there has been once or twice a question of the sudden removal of the School to its ultimate home in the country, and someone was rude enough to call the project a "policy of scuttle." But the Fire showed how successful the "policy of scuttle" may be when the worst comes to the worst. It attacked the Hospital on its third day, and the record, headed "Tuesday night 4^o Sept. 1666,"

is worth giving as it stands. "The children in this Hospitall," it says, "being above 200, were immediately carried away to the Naggs Head Inn att Islington belonging to the Hospitall (which then stood voyd) and after the nights lodging there they were receiued into the new Corporacon neare Clerkenwell, and there were dyetted for 4 dayes att 5^d per day apeece, and for so long a time as they continue from Saturday 8 Sept. 1666 M^r Poynts the Governor is to have 6^d p. day apeece." This "Nagg's Head" is to be distinguished from the hostel of the same sign, so well known (by name) to riders in North London omnibuses, and had then recently come into the possession of the Hospital by the gift in 1662 of Mr. John Browne. His Islington estate was intended to provide maintenance for "6 schollars" at Christ's and Emmanuel Colleges, Cambridge, and forms to this day the bulk of the Exhibition fund. The great point is that no lives are recorded to have been lost, or an annual whole holiday would hardly have been given on September 2nd to commemorate the event. Besides, the Fire had given only too unmistakable a warning of its intention to visit the premises. After spending a week on Mr. Poynts's "dyett" at Clerkenwell, "viz^t the 15^o Sept. 1666," sixty-two of the children were sent to Ware, and on the 18th fifty-six to Hertford, being boarded out on the system which had prevailed from the beginning in the case of children "sent to nurse." The rest were huddled into what remained of the School.

But the historian, being less humane, will rather want to know what happened to the buildings. The utter dislocation of school-work was a matter of course; but what of the fabric? Obviously, it suffered severely, as may be gathered from the amount of *débris* removed. The "Dust and Rubbish," says the Counting House chronicler, "was ordered to be cleered, and the lead and iron with other serviceable materials to be secured, there being above 40 labourers imployed aboute doeing the same, and 4 or 5 others to oversee them." The great church of the Grey Friars lay to the windward of the School during the Fire, and was thus attacked first. Whether it was partially or

completely destroyed must be discussed elsewhere, but the mention of "the glazed windows being very little damnified" does not look like absolute ruin. The part of the Hospital which suffered most lay on its east front and bordered on the choir of Christ Church. Here the Counting House and the Treasurer's House disappeared, though there was evidently time to remove the archives, and with these went at least the upper part of the "Great Dortor," which formed the east side of the Cloisters. Away at the west end of the site, nearer to St. Sepulchre's Church and Pye Corner, from the Hall, which formed the west side of the Cloisters, to the Infirmary and the Kitchens and the Bakehouse, grievous havoc was wrought. All that could be done was to patch up what was left, and the first thought was for the Counting House, as the centre of all organisation. In October it was ordered that "the rough (roof) of the south easte parte of the wardrobe . . . which was almost consumed by the late ffire should be forthwith made upp and fitted for a compting house, And that other Arch on the back thereof, which is ouer the porch leading to Christ's Church, on which some parte of the Matrons house stood should be likewise made upp for to secure the evidences and writings belonging to this hospitall." But elsewhere the ruins were actually dangerous to life; indeed it is clear that the cloisters were not at all safe before. Two years previously (May 24th, 1664), an order had been given that "the children should noe longer wash dishes in their wards for that the Arches of the Cloysters are much damnified." It was now arranged that "the Cloysters should be made upp with boardes as lately they were . . . to keep the children and others of the House from goeing under those cloysters, which are thought to be very dangerous since the late fire, haueing received very much raine." In fact, so much had to be done that it was only in November 1667, after an exile of fourteen months, that the children were restored to their several wards, "now made fitt and convenient for them."

But besides destruction of buildings the Fire was a trial in other ways. Christ Church needed some repairs before it

was suited for Divine Service, and the few score of children who remained among the ruins could not be left in heathenism; so it fell to "Mr Keyes, usher of the Gramer Schoole," to "read prayers to the children on Sabboth Day and other feast dayes till such time as the Court take further order therein." Then, with less than seventy pupils on the premises, the masters were having too easy a time, and it was resolved to "take off such officers as are useless, to abate the charge which this house is at." Away went Mr. James, the Writing Master, whose alcoholic "disguise" has already been mentioned, and the Song-School Master followed him. The Doctor and the Porter found their salaries halved, and several others were "abated" in various proportions, to the sparing of the Hospital's pocket by £160 8s. 8d. per annum. The Treasurer, William Gibbon, was also in a bad way, and wanted to resign. It "had pleased Almighty GOD very much to impaire his estate by the late Fire," but what he seems to have felt still more was the "lameness in one of his Leggs." He was, it would seem, of a nervous temperament, for, the moment they told him to go on in his office and "cheerfully to execute the same," he took courage and did as he was told,—at least for some years. The Treasurer's complaint that his estate was impaired must have come home with tenfold force to the Governing Body. A large amount of their income was in City rents, and they had houses both in Pudding Lane and at Pie Corner. The Chief Clerk's letter to the tenants on this subject will give a fair idea of the task that lay before all City house-owners, whose property had lain in the pathway of the Visitation.

"October 2, 1666.

"I am commanded by the Governors of Christ's Hospital to send you the precept [from Guildhall] here inclosed; pray forthwith repaire to the ground whereon your house or houses stood, take with you workmen and let them take the dimencons of every particular Building and ground you held of the said Christ Hospital, which when you have done and subscribed the same, bring it to the Beadle's booth in the ward where your house or houses stood, and a copy thereof

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to me at Mr Hyde's house, Glazier, against the Pump in
Little Brittain, where you shall be sure to hear of him
Morning or Evening who is Yrs W^m Parrey."

Happily the Hospital had large estates in the country then, as, unhappily, it has to-day, and somehow the great organisation managed to pull along. Even the stream of University "Scholars" trickled on, for George Cox went to Peterhouse in the January after the Fire, prepared for that purpose by Shadrach Helmes, the Grammar Master, who had lost both his residence and his "pay-schollers" and had had grievous cause to remember these "two great visitacons."

But it is time to consider the effect on the life of this Royal Foundation of the various national upheavals which have altered the face of the political ground for the country at large. Of course, certain allowance must be made if the signs of these disturbances are few and far between in the records of an institution so shut in as Christ's Hospital, and withal so identified with the Corporation of the City of London. At most of its Courts and Committees the majority present were Aldermen, Deputies, or Common Councilmen; all but a very few were resident within the walls of the City. Therefore, in times of political tension, the school felt what the City felt; for the predilections of masters were scarcely taken into account, and the "poore children" would not be considered to have any predilections at all. Nevertheless, it is strange to find crucial events like the execution of Charles passing without so much as a reference in the voluminous records of Courts and Committees. There was a meeting of these worthy citizens five days before the trial of the King began at Westminster Hall, there was another within three weeks after "that memorable scene" outside Whitehall; but the school's government must be carried on, whether Kings keep their heads or lose them, and instead of passing a resolution of confidence in the substituted Government at the first meeting after so dire an event, they had an amicable conversation with "the Earle of Lincolns Steward" about the felling of



THE DITCH

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE REV. D. F. HEYWOOD

"some old Elme Trees out of the garden in Tuthill Streete in Westminster, which doth belong to this house." Whatever their actual feelings were, they did not allow sentiment to impede business, and, with the rest of the citizens, they fell in with the new order of things. In December 1649 "M^r Wickins the Steward is appointed to goe to such Gouverners of this house as weare not at this Court to take their Subscriptions to y^e Engaigement appointed by y^e Parliament and ordered by^e Lord Maior and Court of Aldermen to bee subscribed unto." It was evidently unnecessary to *persuade* them to sign it.

But for some years previously the distress of the nation had been unconsciously mirrored in the minutes of the Court-meetings. For example, in June 1646, the executor of some benefactor, who would feel himself a *persona grata*, petitioned the Governors to "admitte of a poore man's child into this hospitall whose father was slayne in y^e wares." There was a difficulty here, for the father was not a freeman of the City, but they granted the request on the understanding that it should not be made a precedent. The stress of the times, however, was brought home to the Hospital in a still more practical way, for the tenants fell into arrears with their rent, and craved all manner of indulgence. One urged "y^e great hindrances and losses w^{ch} he hath sustayned" and "the many taxes which hath been laid uppon him." A certain Mrs. Sharfield of Wiltshire "hath received for y^e space of four years (to 1646) not above tenn pounds pr. ann. out of y^e said lands, y^e rest haveing beene kept and held from her by y^e King's forces," and from her the Governors accepted £100, where she owed £169. In October 1647 came the kinswoman of a Mr. Howlet, who had given the Hospital some land at East Bedfont, and begged the Court to "take into consideracon the miserable and hard condicon that she is now in in regard of the soldiers being there who from tyme to tyme have layne quartering and billeting at her house, and have taken all her butter cheese beere and all other provisions as well horse meate as Man's meate to her great detriment and almost her utter undoing." And the diffi-

culties extended from the Governors' real property to their invested funds. Lady Cleere had left them £100 in 1644 to provide for a schoolmistress to teach the girls to "read and work," and this had been "put forth into y^e Exize Office at 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ per hundred"; but in 1647 the question naturally arose "wheather they would continew it there any longer or remove it into some other hands for more saftie." Till that "saftie" should return, a private person borrowed it at six per cent, and half a century later, when Dutch William was established on the throne, this hundred pounds, together with a larger sum, the gift, in 1599, of Peter Blundell, of Tiverton fame, went towards the purchase of houses in Pancras Lane, where it is "as safe as houses" to this day.

Of the religious changes in our history, whether due to politics or independent of them, the records of the "Religious Foundation" show little or no trace. It goes without saying, that the sympathies of the School, as the offspring of the Reformation, remained more or less Protestant. The only question is how far it developed from Protestant into Puritan, how far it swerved from the Church towards the "Sectaries." Fundamentally, it would appear that there was no such change; for the first thing to suffer in such a case would be the hitherto and, till 1891, universal teaching of the Church Catechism. Yet, in 1638, the very year of the Solemn League and Covenant, the Governors took "into consideration Mr. Vicars his greate care and paines" as Catechizer and added ffive pounds" to his "sellery," and in 1643, when Puritanism had made great advances, the whole system of Church doctrine was settled on a better basis in connexion with the special benefaction for that purpose of "M^{rs} Margaret Wale, Widdowe." There is, of course, no guarantee that the Catechizer under the Commonwealth did not adapt his interpretation to the views of the day, and in the case of Vicars the probability is that he did so, but he received his stipend for expounding the tenets of the Church of England "three tymes euery weeke an hower at a tyme by an hower-glasse." In other and less important ways, the notions of the Puritans found their way into the

Hospital. For instance, there was a "stalwart" in the Counting House, who vented his "independence" on the minutes, wherever he was dealing with a Saint. In the lists of children admitted he had to give the parishes from which they came, and up to 1639 he was content, perhaps under protest, to call a Saint a Saint; but in 1647 he begins to have his own way, and having once written "St. Nicholas Accon," and being obliged to mention the parish a second time, he writes "Nicholas Accon"; for the rest the parishes must be satisfied in 1647 and 1648 with appearing as "Martins in the Fields," "Olaues Hartstreete," "Dunstons West," "Mary Ouers in Southwarke," and "John Zacharies," while poor "St. Leonard Foster" is stripped to the bareness of "ffosters."

But the Civil War made havoc of two important classes, the scholars for the Universities and the presentees to benefices. In regard to the first, the disturbed state of the two Universities made progress difficult, but whatever was the reason, only two exhibitioners, one for Cambridge and one for Oxford, left the Hospital between 1641 and 1657. There was no such scarceness for fifty years before, and no such ever since. As to the clergy one instance must suffice. In 1649 Mr. Aims, or Amyes, vicar of Horley, was summoned to the Court "to answe're a complaint made against him for absenting himselfe from his cure for six weekes together, in all w^{ch} tyme he hath not preached to his parishioners there, but left them destitute." His reply would be anxiously awaited by the Governors who at this time were sworn foes to clerical pluralism, and it may be considered adequate. "It was," he said, "in regard of some troubles that Mr. Jourdain and 3 or 4 more of y^e Parish which hee saith are Annabaptists had brought upon him by accusing him to y^e Parliament for being a Malignant. Whereupon he was summoned upp to London to see what they would charge him withall and feed Counsell to pleade for him, and afterwards they used means to imprission him, and so deprived him of his libertie, and is at this present as hee alleadgeth by their means sequestered from his living, soe

that hee could not performe his dutie and office as otherwise hee would have done." The poor wretch intimated that he would get quit of the sequestration "and make his peace if hee may," or else resign. It would appear that he managed to agree with his enemies in the gate, and the state of his purse must have told him that it was high time, since for a year past he had had "but 4^s for his labour and paines bestowed amongst them, whereof hee saith hee hath paid aboute £3. 10. to y^e P^lliament."

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CHAPTER XIII.

OF RITES AND CEREMONIES

"The time would fail me if I were to attempt to enumerate all those circumstances, some pleasant, some attended with some pain, which, seen through the mist of distance, come sweetly softened to the memory."—CHARLES LAMB.

THE SPITAL SERMONS

IT was inevitable that Christ's Hospital should not only have its part in the celebration of public events and the endurance of public calamities, but also that it should create its own environment of quaint custom and regular observance. Of these the oldest and the most permanent is the Easter ceremony, including the Spital Sermons, whose history is longer than that of the School. But the changes in the custom and the constant association of the "Blues" with it from 1553 onwards have almost established the right of the Hospital to claim the function as its own, though it is still technically arranged by the Corporation of the City. The Town Clerk applies to the vicar for the use of Christ Church and the vicar only sees who is to occupy the pulpit through the kindness of his newspaper. But it may be well here to give further details. "Touching the antiquitie of this custome," says Stow, it is not possible to be more definite than to date it to "time out of minde." He gives a reference to a proclamation by Richard II. which was "read and pronounced at Paules Cross and Saint Marie Spittle in the sermons before all the people." Philip Malpas, Sheriff, in 1439 "gave twenty shillings by the yeare to the three preachers at the Spittle." Stephen Forster, Mayor, in 1454 "gave fortie pounds to the Preachers at Paules Crosse

and the Spittle," more probably as an endowment than in fees for a single year. It is therefore possible to assume that the custom is two centuries older than Christ's Hospital. But first as to the places of observance. Paul's Cross and its history and position are known to everyone, but in the sixteenth century it shared the honours with a similar cross at St. Mary Spital (*i.e.* Hospital) which stood in a spacious square. "It was an hospital of greate reliefe," says Stow, and in his time "the large Church yeard" remained "as of olde time." Within hearing distance of the pulpit stood "one faire builded house of two stories in height for the Maior and other honourable persons with the Aldermen and Sheriffes to sit in" and "in the loft over them stood the Bishop of London and other prelates." The civic ladies "stande at a fayre window or sit at their pleasure." As for the "Blues," who, again according to Stow, first wore their "blew" at the Spital in 1553, it is probable that here as elsewhere they had at first to be content to stand and defy the elements. Nor were they the only sufferers in this respect, for several years later (Guildhall Records, Letter Book v. 139b) at a Court in 1567 it was ordered "that the Chamberlyn at the Cytyes charge shall cause the guttur whereby the rayne water falleth vppon the officers of the Cytie and others attendinge vppon my lord maior and my masters the aldermen in the sermon tyme at Paules Crosse to be turned and diverted from the place where yt now falleth." For these Paul's Cross audiences, however, there was plenty of refuge near at hand, and one instance is on record where, in 1561, the rain was so heavy that it was impossible to "pryche at Powlles Crosse" and the service was held at the Grey Friars, otherwise Christ Church. But at the Spital shelter was not so plentiful; so in 1565 the Governors went to the expense of a "tilt," or tent, to cover the children, and in 1593, Alderman William Elkin, whose attendance at the sermons had perhaps shown him the patent deficiencies of the "tilt," left Christ's Hospital a sum sufficient "for the building of a house at St. Mary's Hospital, for the Governors and children to sit in at Easter times." After

over twenty years' service the "tilt" might well have expected to gain a well-earned retirement. But the Governors had a frugal mind, and they cut it up, or what was left of it, to make coverings for the straw on which the children slept. Whatever may have been the case when they had a house to assemble in, the Governors could not always rely on finding their previous place unoccupied when they presented themselves to hear the sermons. For it is stated in the Court minutes of 1578:—

'Thomas Stone and other Beadles havinge missbehaued their selfe on Wednisdaie in the easter weke last past by oppressinge the scaffold with so manie people that neyther the gounors nor yet the children cold haue anie place in the sermon tyme, and farther by reason of theire excessive takinge of mony hathe raised soche displeasure of the citizens that there is greate anoyance thereby towards the gounors of this Hospitall, whereuppon the Court hathe ordered that Thomas Stone shall del^t up his staffe and be dismysed of his place Duringe the Gounors pleasure.'

At some date, which I have failed to discover—save that it was subsequent to 1680—the preaching at the Spital ceased, and it is doubtful if there were any sermons at Paul's Cross after 1643. Indeed, in 1641, when Richard Vines, of the Westminster Assembly, was the preacher, the service was held in Christ Church, as stated on the printed copy of his sermon entitled "The Impostures of Seducing Teachers." The Restoration gave back the custom to the City, but the *venue* was changed to St. Bride's, Fleet Street, till in 1797 Christ Church, Newgate Street, became its permanent home.

So much for the place. Of what did the observance consist? Apparently of preaching only, but of preaching in plenty. Returning to Stow, we find that the sermons began on Good Friday at Paul's Cross with one "treating of Christ's passion"; and "upon the three next Easter holy dayes, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, three preaching in the forenoone at the Spittle" had "to persuade the Article of Christ's resurrection"; the following Sunday, Low Sunday, "one other learned man" (who presumably

had endured the discourses of his predecessors with a sense of delight that he was not to be *semper auditor tantum*) made "rehearsall of those foure former sermons, either commending or reprocuing them as to him by judgment of the learned Divines was thought convenient." That done, he preached a discourse of his own to show the others how they ought to have managed their task. The appointment of these Easter preachers was long a bone of contention between the Bishop of London and the City. It seems clear that the Corporation nominated those at the Spital and the Bishop those at Paul's Cross. The result was not always seemly, especially if the Bishop had a grudge against the City; indeed there is a letter from the Guildhall to John Aylmer, Bishop of London, dated September 6th, 1581, which, while not referring to an Easter sermon, displays the inconveniences of the system. His lordship's chaplain had recently preached at Paul's Cross, and had taken the opportunity to "publicly defame to their faces" the citizens who would have to provide him with the fee for his sermon. He told them that, if such as they appointed the "Paulles" preachers, "they would appoint such as would defend usury, the family of love, and puritanism." Naturally the citizens "desired his lordship to take order that he should make reparation for their good fame." The quarrel became more serious when the Bishop (this time John King, the sixth occupant of the see of London since Aylmer's death in 1595, or five in fifteen years!) claimed the nomination of all the Easter divines. Just before Easter 1616 (March 8) the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen sent him a long letter reminding him of their undoubted right. They had always appointed the Spital preachers, and had acquainted him with their names, not of necessity but of courtesy; but the Bishop had forbidden one of their nominees to preach, and "said he would forbid the rest." The Bishop, they continued, had better understand that such action "will be displeasing to the citizens and hinder their wonted charity." In other words the Bishop will not get the use of the Mansion House for a Bishop of London's Fund



THE BAND IN THE HALL-PLAY

meeting. However, the honours remained with the City and the Aldermen; they continued to nominate the Spital preachers, as is shown by their letter of February 7th, 1618, to Dr. John Prideaux, who by the way declined their invitation "because his daily employment in the University (Oxford) gave him no time to fit himself for such a business." The privilege which the City maintained in the face of the Bishop was increased by the Parliament. In September 1642 the Lords and Commons, hearing that the City was entrusted with "satisfaction & provision of and for all ministers that preach at Pawles Church, Pawles Crosse, the Spittle, and other places," and "that at later times many unsound, unfaithful and unprofitable ministers" have been preaching sermons which "tended more to Popery and sedition than edification and wholesome instruction," gave orders that "during these times of distraction" the Lord Mayor and Aldermen should nominate *all* the preachers. It is in virtue of this trust that Sunday morning preachers at St. Paul's Cathedral still receive their fee from funds in the hands of the Corporation.

The whole ceremony bears witness to the healthy appetite for sermons shown by the Londoners of old time. They liked them often and they liked them long. Take the case* of three brothers named Wincope, "called from places remote one from another," who in Easter Week 1632 preached on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, "agreeing so nicely on their subject, that the second continued what the first began, and the third brought it to a conclusion." Even the Restoration, which shortened the five sermons to three, did not have much effect on their individual length. Mr. Pepys, whose church-going diligence is not hid under a bushel, visited the Spital festival more than once.

'April 2. 1662. M^r Moore came to me and he and I walked to the Spittle an houre or two before my Lord Mayor and the blew-coat boys come, which at last they did, and a fine sight of charity it is indeed. We got places and staid to hear a sermon, but, it being a Presbyterian

* CHISWELL, *New View*, A.D. 1708, p. 77.

one, was so long that after above an houre of it we went away.'

'April 13. 1669. I by hackney coach to the Spittle and heard a piece of a dull sermon to My Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and thence saw them all take horse and ride away, which I have not seen together many a day; their wives also went in their coaches; and indeed the sight was mighty pleasing.'

Mr. Pepys' impression of length and dulness (though he is perhaps not the best of authorities on the latter) is substantiated by facts. Isaac Barrow was Spital Preacher in 1671, and the City requested him to print the sermon "with what further he had prepared to deliver at that time." Who got exhausted first, audience or orator, is not on record; but in the large print octavo, in which Barrow published it, the discourse occupies 230 pages. Its text was "the Duty and Reward of Bounty to the Poor," and Tillotson's comment may be allowed to pass that "it seems to have exhausted the whole argument and to have left no consideration belonging to it untouch'd." Nor is it wonderful that Barrow after preaching a second Spital sermon in 1677 "never preached but once more." Again, by the kindness of a friend I possess a copy of Dr Samuel Parr's famous effort on April 15th, 1800, soon after the Easter services were removed to Christ Church. It is a small printed quarto, there are twenty-four pages of sermon (of which he confesses to having omitted two in the pulpit) and 124 pages of elaborate notes. It is recorded that the Lord Mayor of the day, in complimenting the untiring preacher, ventured a remark to the effect that there were four things during the sermon which he had been very sorry to hear. "Dear, dear, my lord," said the Doctor, "what were they?" "Sir," came his lordship's reply, "I mean the quarters struck by the church clock." But the laugh was not always with the Chief Magistrate. Bishop Warburton, who accepted an invitation to the usual Easter Banquet after the service, was expressly thanked by the Lord Mayor on behalf of the Common Council, "for that this was the first time he ever heard them prayed for." The

Bishop blandly answered: "Not at all: I considered them as a body who much needed the prayers of the Church."

The three sermons that used to be delivered at St. Bride's were reduced to two when the scene was changed to Christ Church, and now for twenty years there has been but one and that on Easter Tuesday. The Bishop who preaches is nominated according to the *rota* of consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Easter holidays no longer begin with the last words of the benediction, as they did in my time, with terrible effects on our attention, and the patience of the young audience is rarely tried by more than thirty minutes—with a leaning to mercy. But the trying ordeals of old time are part of the history of Christ's Hospital. Several hundred children had to listen while Isaac Barrow droned on for three hours and a half. Let us hope they were prepared for it by the knowledge that at Westminster Abbey the organ had once been started before his sermon was anything like finished, to remind him of the flight of time and the frailty of human powers of attention.

But, in regard to the part played by the School at this ancient function, one or two customs deserve mention. It was natural that a prudent body like the Governors should turn what Pepys called this "fine sight of charity" to a practical use, and certainly about the close of the seventeenth century it was their habit to make what they could out of it. In 1676 the Treasurer and two Governors "are desired to waite upon the Ministers that preach at the Spittle and to desire them to press Charity." At the same time, on the principle of beginning their charity at home, two other Governors were desired to go with the Treasurer "to the Spittle about a Seate for the Governors to sitt in at Easter"; perhaps their tired legs still recalled the three hours and a half of Isaac Barrow's sermon. But, lest Charity should seem too indefinite a plea, it was arranged in 1680 that the Treasurer and his selected colleagues should "attend the Divines that are to preach att Spittle next Easter and presse them to move the Auditors to remember the poore children of this Hospitall

in their sermons." This is not to imply that there was any collection at the close of the service but that the Treasurer was willing to receive the smallest contributions at the Counting House. And the gift of Edward Arris in 1670 will serve to show that the benefactions were not always as wise as they were generous. At this very period when the preachers were "pressing Charity" he left £100, the interest to "bee laid out for ever in gloves for the Children to be worne euery Easter when they waite upon the Lord Maior to St Maries Spittle." A pair of gloves is a useful present, as every "Blue" feels on Easter Tuesdays, but the benefaction can scarcely have come up to the Treasurer's requirements. Arris added a condition "that every child may have *upon his gloves* (Court Book, July 5th, 1670) a paper with these words printed in legible characters (~~He~~ *is risen*)." How the paper was kept on the gloves is not stated, and the difficulty of the operation soon caused it to be pinned on the left breast, as every Blue now in middle life will well remember. The pious surgeon desired his young friends to keep the fact of the Resurrection in mind on their annual outing, and it may have had this effect in many cases; but in Leigh Hunt's day, the legend suffered from a rude admixture of Anti-Semitism, which he illustrates with the couplet—

"He is risen, He is risen,
All the Jews must go to prison."

In my day the Gothic "s" and the Volunteer movement corrupted it by a greater effort of youthful folly into "He is a Rifleman." At this rate one need not regret that after two hundred years of existence the wearing of the legend came to an end about 1877.

Another custom, more acceptable to the boys personally as a relief to their pockets, if a trial to their pride, takes them on Easter Tuesday to the Mansion House an hour or two before the time fixed for the sermon. When this custom began, I have been unable to discover. The Easter ceremonies have for long been characterised by a procession eastward. Thus there is an order of March 24th, 1681, to

the effect that the Masters are to wait upon the Lord Mayor with the children, that "the Mathematicall children" are "to carry a Ruler & Compasse, the Writing children to have a red pen in their eare, and the Reading Scholars to have a Bible or Testament in their hands"; and in Trollope's time something of the same sort still prevailed. In his day, the boys, as they passed before the Lord Mayor, received six-pence each, the monitors a shilling, and the Grecians half a guinea. Lord Mayor William Thompson in 1828 showed his well-known favour to the "Blues" by doubling the gift in each case, and his successors have not risked their popularity in the Hospital by a return to the original amount. It was the custom at one time to give the boys wine with their buns, without any alternative of a less fiery nature; and this may have had something to do with a complaint made by the Court of Aldermen in 1693 "of great rudeness and disorders lately committed by the boys of Christ's and Bridewell Hospitals at Church time in Easter last." Certainly there is little wine drunk by them on the Easter Tuesdays of modern times, and there is no more attentive congregation in London than the present "Blues" as they listen to the Spital Bishop.

Mention must be made, before leaving the Spital ceremonies, of the custom of singing a specially composed Easter Psalm or Anthem, the *libretto* by a master or scholar, and the score by the Song-School Master. It must be frankly admitted that the prudent Governors were not without ulterior motives in this display of poetic and musical generosity. It was their habit to print the words and the music, and to use the reverse side, as they used the sermons, for "pressing charity." The earliest reference to the custom which my search has brought to light is in the year 1625, but its real nature can best be gathered from a collection of these Psalms, ranging, though not continuously, from 1681 to 1842, and preserved in the Museum. The first necessity was to procure the words, written generally in six verses, two for each of the (then) three services. These were ordered from various sources. In 1676 the laureate was "the usher of the

Grammar Schoole," and, when the order was repeated in 1678, the Usher was further told "to attend William Moses Esq. a member of this house with the Psalme for his approbation thereof or alteration of the same if hee see cause." But in 1684 the Court saw good to command a joint effort; the Grammar Master (Mountfort) and the Mathematical Master (Pagett) were bidden "to joyne together in composing two Psalmes that may constantly in turne be used by the children on Easter Monday Tuesday and Wednesday yearly." Alas! the partnership produced no permanent result, as the following lines which they perpetrated will readily imply:—

"In price of what they wear and eat though many us excel,
Yet with plain coats and wholesome meat we thrive and look as well;
The Bird that finest feathers wears no warmer is for that,
And though some feed on wheaten ears, yet others are as fat."

So thereafter they tried Mountfort by himself; but he evidently was little anxious for the bays; for, having been told to "prepare the Psalme" for 1689, he seems to have passed on the task to his famous pupil, Joshua Barnes, whose initials are printed at the bottom of the page. If anything, the result is worse:—

"Low on the Dunghill and the Dust, Naked and Poor we lay,
Our Clothing Rags, our Food a Crust, our Beauty Filth and Clay;
May length of Days, and Wealth, and Peace, and Virtue's brighter Crown,
King William and Queen Mary Grace, as they Grace England's Throne!"

But the Governors were clearly pleased with this experiment of making laureates of their exhibitioners, for in 1692 the Treasurer wrote to Samuel Linwood and Richard Fletcher at Trinity College, Cambridge, "either by themselves or others to compose a psalme fit for the children to sing before the Lord Major at Easter." Hitherto there is no mention of any fee; but in 1697 Samuel Cobb, a precocious youth, who when at school "composed a booke of Poems and dedicated it to the Treasurer and Governors," began his long series of Easter ditties by submitting one to the

Treasurer while still an undergraduate, which was at once "given to M^r Browne the Musick Master for his perusall in order to compose the Musick." Copies of this psalm still exist, and a few lines will enable the reader to console himself for the loss of most of its successors :—

"Gaze, ransom'd mortal, and admire a love stupendously divine !

These unworn paths Imperial Edward trod, the Charles immensely mild—

Edward a hoary youth in virtue old, and Charles of an æthereal make

Kept dying charity awake, consum'd with grief and vexed with pining cold."

On leaving Cambridge Cobb became Usher of the Grammar School, and decided always to be ready with a "Psalm." In 1704 he began to consider the possibility of adding in this way to his scanty income; for, having produced the usual scree, he "acquainted the Com^{ee} he hath for seven yeares last past made the Easter Psalm, which is to him an extra employment." The Committee, seeing his drift, voted him "two guineys for which he was thankfull," and he was careful to make this a precedent for future use; so much so that, having continuously drawn his "two guineys" till 1709, he was met by a resolution, of which he could not mistake the import, "that for the future noe more Easter Psalmes shall be made without a particular order first had of this Com^{ee}"; so "S. C.'s" monopoly came to an end.

It has already been said that these Psalms, in their printed form, were a "valuable advertising medium." Without going so far as to urge that the Hospital was "entirely supported by voluntary contributions," the appeals printed on the paper pleaded that "the certain revenue of the said Hospital is little more than the moiety of the necessary charges thereof." In fact the Psalm-sheet was a perpetual reminder to the citizens to "remember the poor." As one of its own poets (1682) also had said :—

"'Tis GOD finds all the gums and spice, and men find but the smoke."

Let them at any rate see that they do find it.

BURIALS

More frankly commercial even than this "pressing of charity" at the Spital Sermons was the custom, long prevalent but happily long defunct, of sending the children to funerals—for a consideration. Historically, the Governors had some excuse for regarding the bodies of the dead as a lawful source of profit; for the "Grey Friars" was the favourite burying-place of the English aristocracy, who were willing to pay heavily for the privilege of taking their last sleep in the Franciscan habit, very much as the wealthy Florentine affected an interment at San Miniato. From all this the Friars derived no small advantage. Their successors, the Governors of Christ's Hospital, made money in a different way. At the present time it is the poorer classes, but then it was the rich citizens, who craved a fine funeral, and one way to secure it was to have an ample procession of the "poore Children" of Christ's Hospital. As early as 1577 a person "was graunted to have a competent number of the children to the buriall of M^r Shoulor and thereuppon hath promised xx^s," and by the time that Robert Dow made his provision for the Music School the custom had become prevalent; for he stipulated in 1609 that, "upon the children attending burials, one half of the singing scholars shall be left behind, at the discretion of the master, that the school be not empty, unless it should be a special or double funeral."

In the days when private houses were small the first requisite was to find a place for the mourners to assemble in, and the School Hall, like those of the City Companies, answered the purpose admirably. It was let free of charge except "satisfaction to such as prepare and make cleane the Hall." For the rest, it is impossible to discover any exact system in the matter. Thus Mr. John Babington, the Treasurer of the Hospital, was buried from Salters' Hall in 1652 ("to have all y^e children"), while my predecessor at Christ Church, Mr. Edmund Shering, who had no organic connexion with the Hospital and quarrelled with it on every possible occasion, was "buried from the Court Room" ("to



THE COUNTING HOUSE YARD

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE REV. D. F. HEYWOOD



have 48 children"). What has been already said will give some idea of the system, whose general plan may be gathered from the following letter. It seems to have been the recognised form of invitation :—

'SIR,—Your Worship as a Governor of *Christ's Hospital* is desired to meet at the great Hall of the said Hospital, on *Tuesday*, the 13th of *September* instant, by two of the Clock in the afternoon precisely, in your gown and with a green Staff, from thence to accompany the Corps of *THOMAS STRETCHLEY*, gentleman, to the Tabernacle in *Christ Church*, to hear a Sermon: Pray, Sir, be pleased to appear (his executors having declared that by his will he is a Bountiful Benefactor to the Children of your *Hospital*).

'Your humble Servant,

'WILLIAM PARREY.

'September 10, 1681.'

This means to say that the Hospital, in consideration of what it is to gain from the will of the "corps," is bound to see that it receives a largely attended funeral. Carry the system a little further, and anyone who wants such a funeral may secure these unfortunate young mutes by paying or guaranteeing such and such a sum of money. In proof of this the "Burials Book" remains among the archives. It cannot have been the only one, for it does not begin till 1622, and when it opens the custom is clearly in full swing. The body of the page is filled with the name of the person to be buried and the arrangements for the service, and the margin contains the figures of his or her past or prospective gifts to the Hospital, there being a rough proportion between those figures and the number of children provided as mourners. The "special or double funerals" may be represented by that of Mr. Stretchley, whose benefactions amounted to £5,200. "The Govern^r," says the Burials Book, "are all invited to attend his funeral with 200 children." But it confesses in a footnote that "of all the Govern^r, no. 300 invited, appeared but 90, who had rings of 8^d price a peice," and, as these would be paid for out of the estate, it was at once a blessing for the legatees and a credit to the

absent Governors that no more "appeared." At the other end of the scale is the entry, dated 1652, to the effect that "the Lady Ann daughter to my Lord Sussex is to be buried on Fryday instant by 5 of the clock in ye afternoone from convent garden. 40 guirles to attend." Her ladyship estimated their services to her "corps" at a shilling a head, and so gave the Hospital two pounds sterling. A deceased lady, for whom insult is piled on injury by her being inscribed as "Mad Agnieta Vandermarsh, an antient maide," has the services of one hundred children at the Dutch Church. The funerals, which they thus graced with their presence, were by no means confined to the City and neighbourhood. A certain Dame Martha, with an illegible surname, who was going to be interred at Bletchingley, had "300 boys and 60 girles to attend the funerall to the end of the stones in Blackman Street, Bow." When the body of Mr. Serjeant Moses, the great patron of Cambridge Exhibitioners, was laid to rest in 1688 at Pembroke Hall, all the children accompanied the procession to "White Chapell Bars." But there are also instances in which these hungry young hirelings had to go as far as Hampstead and Greenwich, and their comfort was not often considered either in the will or by the beneficiaries. True, Mr. John Babington, already mentioned, left £100 "to buy Roast-meat of £2 yearly for the children above their ordinary dyett," and there were cases in which it was arranged for the boys to have "12^d apeece" or a pair of gloves, or a knife; but there was a successful raid on the gloves by the nurses of the wards, and as late as 1686 the Committee agreed, in regard to any money given to the children, to maintain "the custome for the nurses to have halfe (if divideable)." It may be fairly assumed that the nurses would make sure of the divideableness of anything under the circumstances.

The question remains whether there was any advantage to the children to atone for long and dreary tramps as part of long and dreary processions to do honour to people whose very names were often unknown to them. This can only be answered by an examination of the Burials Book, which

will show that the children were employed at one thousand funerals between 1622 and 1648, and at about five hundred and fifty between 1649 and 1754, when the practice came to an unlamented end. Thus, business in this line was most brisk in the years when Puritanism was gathering its strength, which is scarcely eloquent of the simplicity of that movement. A rough calculation of the benefactions which led to or were likely to flow from the presence of the "Blue" children at these fifteen hundred and fifty ceremonies shows the profit to the Hospital to have been about £75,000, while of the sums contributed by corpses before 1622 no account remains. It was a happy day when it became impossible for the Clerk, in estimating the probable receipts for the current year, to suggest, as Reeve did in 1690, that the deficit might be made up "by Legacies, fines upon leases, Benevolences, *Buryalls and other Casualties.*"

"HALLY-BLAGS."

Before leaving the various religious customs of the Hospital a word may be said as to one or two others. Any "Blue" of twenty years back and upwards will suggest "Hally-blags" as worth a word or two. It is to be feared that the word is a scholastic abbreviation of "All Hallows Blackguards," but their career was not as bad as their name implies. Their origin is to be found in the will of Peter Symondes, citizen and Mercer of London, dated the 4th of April, 1586. He left a sum of money in order that on each Good Friday the children of Christ's Hospital should attend "the church of All Saints in Lumber Street," or sixty of them at least. They were to receive at the close of the service a penny apiece and a bag of raisins, the latter to cost by the testator's direction three shillings and fourpence. Trollope is responsible for a statement that they were chosen in his time "for good behaviour." In later times it was the more cautious custom to avoid such invidious distinctions and to choose the smallest boys in the school, and there were few of them who would not have avoided the

title of "Hally-blag" in a trice if other than "good behaviour" would have set them free. Here at least is a case in which some good has come of recent legislation, for the small boys ceased to eat raisins on Good Friday after the passing of the City Parochial Charities Act. It is only fair to Peter Symondes to add that he saw the oddness of his bequest. "Although," says his will, "this gift may be thought very frivolous, yet my mind and meaning being hidden may notwithstanding be performed."

THE PUBLIC SUPPERS

The public is more familiar with the Lenten Suppers than with any other Christ's Hospital function, though they have now passed into history. Their origin and their purpose are both mysterious, and for years past they have been little but a most unnecessary and, for the boys, a not very comfortable show, nor is it certain that they have ever been anything else. But the ceremony has been so often described in the newspapers by the guileless reporter that it may be well to give such information on the subject as the Minute Books provide. On the whole it seems that it was the British Public which decided that Public Suppers should exist, as part of its *panem et circenses*. Thus in 1684, shortly after Sir John Frederick's Hall was built, the Committee was desired "to think of a way how to prevent the Rabble of people coming into the great hall on Sunday nights to see the children at Supper, which causes great disturbance and interruption in that affaire." Then they arranged that a beadle should "keep the key of the door that leads up into the Hall out of the Cloysters, and that the doore that leads up the great staires shall be kept constantly locked up while the children are at Catechize and Supper," with the significant addition that "none but governors or other persons of quallity" (who, of course, might take it into their heads to become Governors) should be admitted. Two years later things were as bad as ever. The question again arose "how to suppress the great concourse of people that come on Sunday nights into the great hall," and, this having been

discussed in vain, "at the same time every person present was desired to think of a way or method to prevent the same (if possible) for future." There is no record of the results of this united deliberation, nor any reference to the Public Suppers at all for some seventeen years; and then it appears that things had not improved. In October 1703 (the month showing that the admission of visitors on Sunday nights was not confined to Lent) the porters and beadles "were reprov'd for letting in such crowds of people and more particularly such rabble as they doe usually [let] up into the Hall on Sunday nights and for extorting money of persons to admitt them in"; they were enjoined to let in "onely people of fashion and not to ask them for money." At last, when the disorder could go no further, the Committee in 1709 hit upon the plan of setting open "the doors in the Cloysters goeing up in to the great Hall," as "an experiment whether the Hall will be crowded more with people when the doors stand open than it is when they are shut and attended by Beadles."

These extracts will serve to explain the genesis of these quaint and picturesque ceremonies, which were ultimately confined to four Thursday evenings in Lent. Two hundred years ago there was nothing for the restless Londoner to do on Sunday evenings except sit sedately in his house. To interest the wealthier citizens in the charitable work of the Hospital, it was understood that they were free to visit the Hall during supper on Sunday evenings. But it was not so easy to distinguish between the potential benefactor and the more unpromising and merely curious "gazer"; for the Hospital was practically a public thoroughfare and, whereas to-day the undesirable visitor is stopped at the Lodge, the Governors of 1700 and thereabouts could only hope to stop him at the Hall Door. The matter was further complicated by the commercial proclivities of the Beadles. The Christ Church Lodge was practically a tap-room, and these visitors meant good business, especially as it was their appetising privilege to see others eat. If there were few benefactors in the rabble, there were plenty who were equal to a small tip.

During the last century the custom became more attenuated, though Trollope is responsible for the statement that, having originally lasted "from the Sunday after Christmas until Easter Day, both inclusive," and then changed to the months of March, April, and May, they were in his time started on the first Sunday in February and continued till Easter. But an ingenuous footnote of Trollope's (p. 110) shows that there were already complaints of their "irreligious tendency," as "encouraging, in a certain degree, a profanation of the sabbath." He would have liked to exclude all who were not able to give pecuniary expression to their feelings, and hoped "that the ceremony, which partakes of a devotional character, may have the effect of warming the hearts of every well-disposed Christian with the spirit of charity and benevolence."

The latter consummation has rarely characterised the Public Suppers of these recent years, though they have always "partaken of a devotional character." But they have been treated frankly as a ceremony, not the less acceptable because there is no charge for admission. From the entrance of the Treasurer's procession, headed by the Beadle whose mace and (as far as pattern goes) whose robe are two centuries old, to the prayers which were written by Compton, one of the Seven Bishops, and on to the "bowing-round" of six hundred boys in the dress of the Tudors,—everything flattered the universal instinct for the antique; and the Hall in which the "show" was enacted fostered the delusion.

ST. MATTHEW'S DAY

The religious foundation has yet another ceremony "partaking of a devotional character," and that is its Speech Day, which till some forty years ago coincided with the Feast of St. Matthew. There can be no reasonable doubt that the connexion of the Hospital with this day is as old as the first efforts to found the School. The first meetings of the original Governors were held (says Howes) at the Guildhall; but as soon as possible they "agreed together



SPEECHES ON ST. MATTHEW'S DAY

FROM A PRINT BY ROWLANDSON

to mete all in the Compting house made for the Governors in Chrystes Hospitall on the vith daie of October 1552." At that period all Saints' days were business-holidays and therefore gave leisure for philanthropic work, and it is not much to assume that there had been such a meeting on the 21st of September at the Guildhall, and even that this was the day on which they fixed their first sitting in the "Compting house." Five years later there was issued the famous "Order of the Hospitalls," which probably did no more than authorise established usages, and in this September 21st appears as an important administrative fixture. "Yearly," it says, "upon the day of Saint Matthew Th' Apostle, at a general court to be houlden in Christe Hospitall or els in some other convenient place, by the said governours, or the most part of them, shal be elected and chosen new Governours to govern the said hospitalls for ij years." The lists of those then chosen to be Governors in each of the Royal Hospitals were to be placed in the hands of the Lord Mayor and by him entrusted to safe keeping at the Guildhall—a ceremony still associated with St. Matthew's Day. One other matter of administration formerly took place at the same time. At the foundation of these Hospitals it was arranged that their beadles besides guarding their several premises should act as "street-men" with special attention to beggars and vagrants. They were to patrol the wards of the City and convey to Bridewell all "idle persons." If the "idle person" was too much for the beadle, he was at liberty to "call for aid to euery constable next adjoyning," and, if the aid were not promptly given, he could report the policeman to the Lord Mayor; if the Lord Mayor took no action, the beadle could report his lordship to the Court of Aldermen. The "Order" (A.D. 1557) goes on to say that the beadle must be particularly lively in his search for rogues and idlers "at Pawl's Cross, at the sermon time," and at the funerals of his neighbours; but, as this latter service was generally met by "a benevolence" from the family, "you shall not intrude yourselves to none other burials out of your wards or walkes." St. Matthew's Feast was the day of

reckoning for all these beadle-streetmen. The "Order" enacts that, when the election of Governors is finished, "then shall be called in before the saide courte all the bedells, who shall deliver up their staves and depart the howse, that the opinion of the Court may be hade touchinge the doing of their duties, to the intent, yf any of them be faultye, that he or they may be rebuked or dismissed at the discretion of the said court, and thereupon to deliver up to suche as then remayne their staves, and again establishe them." The Minutes give ample evidence that this enactment was observed, and the entry of 1687 is interesting as showing that "the City Marshall was called in to know whether the said beadles had done their duties . . . who answered they had done very well." Whereupon the street-men were complimented and had the badge of their office returned to them. The entry under the date of April 3rd, 1696, explains why judgment was committed to this imposing functionary, whose duty it now is to prance at the head of civic processions. "John Seaton" is there decided to be "the fittest person to be the walking beadle for assisting the City Marshall to cleere the Streets of Beggars."

The point is not quite clear, but it is probable that this inquest into the doings of the "walking-beadles" took place after Divine Service, and, the further back we get, the more probable is it that the custom of the religious observance of the feast was maintained. In any case, it became an obligation for the Governors (that is, the Mayor and Corporation) to attend service at Christ Church as early as 1619, by virtue of an indenture of Mr. John Bancks, citizen and Mercer, who was also Assistant Treasurer of the Hospital. He gave property charged with a fee for the "divine," on condition that the Governors should "go to the said sermon in a grave manner," and that the sermon should be over by ten o'clock in the morning; and it must be confessed that, though there has been no alteration for the worse in the gravity of the Governors, modern habits have long revolted at a service in the City which must be over at an hour when the worthy benefactors are just catching their train to town, or at any

rate opening their letters. The great matter is that the attendance of the Civic magnates is a custom of considerable antiquity, and that the service was timed to immediately precede the election of Governors. Indeed, they found the religious side of their work forcibly emphasised in the "charge" which forms part of the "Order of the Hospitalls" already referred to. "Your charge shall be," it tells them, "that every of you endeavour yourselves with all your wisdoms and powers faithfullie and diligently to serve in this vocation and calling; which is an office of high trust and worship; for ye are called to be the faithful and true distributors and disposers of the goods of Almighty God to his poore and needy members." It was the business of the "divine" who preached to urge this upon them. The records have very few references to the names of the preachers. "Mr Shereing Minister of Christs Church," and not an "Old Blue," preached in 1685, "Mr Tho: Cooke," for many years classical examiner, in 1705, and in 1669, when the "custome had been discontinued since the sicknesse time," and Christ Church had perhaps not got its "tabernacle" complete, it was suggested to the Lord Mayor "that if his lordpp thinke fitt, the sermone may bee in Great Saint Bartholomews Church neere West Smithfield." For many years past it has been the general but not invariable custom to invite as preacher "one of the late scholars of the house, who has passed through the university upon one of its exhibitions" (Trollope). But one exception, nearly half a century old, will occur to many. Dr. Jacob, the Upper Grammar Master, though not a "Blue," was nominated by the Governors as St. Matthew's Day preacher in 1854, and took the opportunity to rate the Governors in set terms and to bid them put their house in order. It was an extreme act, though not without its justification. But, however much Dr. Jacob was valued by his pupils, his sermon left a bad taste in the palates of the Almoners, and in 1868, before his work was anything like complete, though not before his health seemed shattered, Dr. Jacob retired on an ample pension. He was avenged of his adversaries by drawing the pension for thirty years.

Our description of St. Matthew's Day has now dealt with the trial of the beadles and the hearing of the sermon ; but the trial of the "children" was also part of the day's duties. Two hundred years ago, September 21st, or some day between that and Bartholomew-tide, was the regular time for the half-yearly examination. Therefore it was the custom to adjourn from the church either to the old Grammar School or to the Great Hall, and the "Memor^d" of 1685 will serve to describe what took place up to within very recent times : "two boys made orations one Latine and the other English to the satisfaction of the said Governours." These two represented the *crème* of Christ's Hospital scholarship, and were carefully prepared, as their modern representatives still are, for their trying ordeal. But the whole school on the 21st of September had that happy feeling which arises in the boy-mind at the close of the "exams," and it is to the credit of the Governors that twice each year, shortly before Easter and St. Matthew's Day, they had the results of the half-year's work overhauled.

The earliest reference to such an event occurs in the minutes of a Court held in February 1583. "This corte hath accorded," it says, "that the Gramer Schole shalbe examined on Wednesdaie the xxv of this monthe which wilbe the daie next after St. Matais [Matthias] daie . . . and that there shalbe a competent dyvine prepared for the examinacon." At the same time they decided to ask for the services in this connexion of "M^r Nowell," Dean of St. Paul's, and two others. All that has altered since then is the date of the ordeal, which in 1676 they fixed for "the week before or after Bartholomew day yearly."

Year after year from this time onwards the books contain a copy of each examiner's report. Those of the Rev. Thomas Cooke in regard to the Grammar School have already been referred to, and there were also two mathematical examiners (among whom occurs the fragrant name of de Moivre), one for the Royal and the other for the "New" Foundation. It is probable that the worthy citizens on the governing body frustrated their own intentions by

not changing their examiners with greater frequency. The office seems to have carried a vested interest, and Cooke went on examining in the same subjects and giving reports in much the same words for nearly twenty years. But the rest of the curriculum (the writing, the reading, and the music) was tested by the Governors themselves, and it was always put on record that they satisfied themselves by their personal observation that good progress was being made, or that "the Singing Master gave a touch of his performance by causing the boys in his school to sing a verse of the Easter Anthem."

Of the matter of the two Speeches nothing is ever said, but it can be readily imagined. There would be praises of the Royal Founder, and gratitude to the worthy citizens who provided the means to do the work of the Foundation. The latter, as referring to "present company," may not always have been in the best taste. Indeed, an oration of Thomas Kirke, given not on Speech Day but on some special occasion in June 1664 at which Sir John Frederick, who built the old Hall, presided, may serve as a specimen. "How shall we then, Dear Sir," this youngster asks, "be able to stifle our joy, and bridle in our affections, who have the happiness this day, in this place, to see the faces, not of imperious and exacting Masters, but of our worthy Patrons, and to enjoy especially the Presence of so Pious a Father, and so noble a President?" And he works himself up to a conclusion which may well have appalled the object of his attention: "In a word, Right Worshipful, long may you live in peace and safety: and when you dy, you shall swim to your grave in the Tears of Orphans, and on your Tombe shall they ingrave this Motto—

Here lies the Orphans' Father, most discreet,
Rare Fruit, made ripe for Heav'n, for Earth too sweet."

Happily Sir John postponed so terrible an ordeal for twenty years. Since the middle of the nineteenth century Christ's Hospital has come into line with other schools and held its Speech Day at the close of the summer term, and the

English Speech is the only relic in the present programme of these seventeenth-century effusions. It is now a chaste record of the year's events and does not promise the presiding Lord Mayor a swim in other folks' tears. One other relic of St. Matthew's Day has passed to Speech Day in the custom of handing round "the glove" for the contributions of visitors towards the University expenses of the Exhibitioners just leaving the school. It may be conjectured that the collection was originally made at the St. Matthew's Day service in Christ Church, where it would have seemed less out of place. The ceremonies of the 21st of September still conclude, as they have done for over two centuries, with "the collation of wine and cakes." Trollope gives as his authority for this custom the journals of a Sheriff of 1740. He might have found better evidence in the books of the Hospital as early as 1687, with the added details that the cakes were "sweet" and the wine "burnt."

THE PUBLIC LOTTERIES

It would not be right to omit a notice of one "little system" which had its day, and, none too soon, ceased to be; I mean the practice of allowing the "Blues" to assist in drawing the tickets of the public lotteries. Their history need not be detailed here, for it has been written as the result of diligent research by Mr. John Ashton (1893) from the year 1569 to the present time. It appears that the unfortunate habit of telling off a dozen of the boys for this purpose began about 1694; at any rate in that year Pagett, the Mathematical Master whose delinquencies are described elsewhere, put in a sensible petition "that none of the boyes in the Mathematicall Schoole should be employed in drawing the Million Lottery [5 Will. and Mary c. 7], Mr. Pagett alleadging that it will be a great hindrance to them in their learning, and cause a great disorder in the Government of his Schoole." But at that time the Court did no more than say that the selection of the boys for this purpose was in the hands of a Governor, and, as a matter of fact, the "Mathemats'" connexion with the Lotteries was continuous and not always



DRAWING THE LOTTERIES IN COOPERS' HALL

creditable. After this date the records contain frequent reference to the distribution of the sums paid to the boys for their participation in this system of raising public funds. Thus in 1712 a "Mathemat," who in spite of Pagett's protest had been allowed to take his turn at the wheel and was "now going to sea," was "paid the sume of three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence, his proporcon of the Moneys received in drawing the Lotterys in the year 1711." This extract shows that the Governors minimised the evils of the system by retaining the money till the boys were starting in life. They had plenty of funds for apprenticeship purposes; so they either handed a boy's share to his master, "he giving his bond to secure the same for the benefitt of the Boy," or it was arranged that the share "be reserved for [the boy] in this House untill he shall have served out his apprenticeship, the better to enable him to follow his Trade"; as in the case of "a young man formerly of this Hospital that Drawed one of the Publick Lotterys" and who received his share in 1721 "haveing Faithfully served his seven yeares apprenticeship to a Boxmaker." Sometimes the "Blues" came in for larger benefits at the hands of persons for whom they drew prizes. In 1719 "Mary Ivers Spinster" presented herself to the Committee as being the sister of a boy, since deceased, who had been "Intituled to a Lottery Tickett of Ten Pounds the gift of a Person for whom he Drew a Benefitt Tickett" [worth £10,000]. She therefore asked that as "next kin" she "might have the same with the interest due thereon" since 1714. The interest was paid her, but the Committee reserved the question of the principal, and its fate is not recorded.

Mr. Ashton (p. 81) gives particulars of an incident which by itself might have been sufficient to put an end to the custom as far as the "Blues" were concerned. On December 5th, 1775, a man appeared before the Guildhall bench to answer a charge of tampering with a lottery. He was shown to have insured a certain ticket seventy-nine times for one day. The witnesses included the "Blue," whom this enterprising person, by means of "several half-guineas"

and a breakfast at a coffee-house, had induced to secrete ticket No. 21,481 and make sure of its issuing from the wheel at the psychological moment. Prompt action was taken in this matter on all sides. A rough-and-ready justice discharged the prisoner. The Committee met at the Hospital next day (December 6th, 1775) and in a more serious sense discharged the boy, expelling him there and then for tampering with the tickets—and he was a “Mathemat.”

Yet even this undesirable incident did not make an end of the employment of the boys at the wheel, for on December 12th, 1775, the Treasury issued an order to prevent “like wicked practices in future,” which gave directions that, before any boy was allowed to put his hand into either wheel, the managers on duty were to see that “the bosoms and sleeves of his coat be closely buttoned, his pockets sewed up, and his hands examined,” and that while on duty “he shall keep his left hand in his girdle behind him, and his right hand open with his fingers extended.”* At the same time the Treasurer was asked not to reveal the names of the twelve boys chosen for this office till the morning when the drawing began. All twelve were to go each day, and the Secretaries were to choose two promiscuously from among them. With these precautions the boys continued their work on into the nineteenth century. A “Blue” appears on the advertisement of the State lottery of 1809, and it may be presumed that it was still so when the whole system came to an end in 1826.

It may or may not be that Christ's Hospital has a richer store of quaint ceremonies than other public schools; but it has had the advantage till now of being placed where such ceremonies can be viewed by the outside world. How long many of them will survive transplanting to Horsham “lies on the knees of the gods.”

* The prescribed attitude can be seen in the illustration.

CHAPTER XIV.

OUT OF SCHOOL

"Boy ! the school is your father ! Boy ! the school is your mother ! Boy ! the school is your brother ! The school is your sister ! The school is your first-cousin, and your second-cousin, and all the rest of your relations ! Let's have no more crying !"—BOYER TO COLERIDGE.

IT is probable that there are few schools where the life of the community in the Class Room is as distinct from life out of school as up to this present it has been at Christ's Hospital. At the moment of writing there is a large staff of masters, whose sole duty, with one or two special exceptions, is to be in their rooms and give certain lessons for some six-and-twenty hours a week. When the bell rings, they are not only free men, but, the sooner they are off the premises, the higher does their reputation stand. As this state of things, which is as luxurious for the masters as it has been prejudicial to the boys, will come to an end when the school leaves Newgate Street, it may be well to go back and inquire how it arose.

Christ's Hospital, it has already been said more than once, began its career as a house of refuge for the young. Its first staff suggests the workhouse rather than the university. The "Chirurgione," the "Barbor," the "Buttler," the "Under-butler," the "Porters," the "Bruer," the Matron and the "xxv Systers," leave us in no doubt that, however much the general discipline might benefit from the strictness of masters in school, there was plenty of work for a large staff to do when school was over. Of these various original offices two at least have survived through all the three centuries and a half, as very distinct features of Christ's

Hospital life,—namely the “Porter” and the “Syster.” The Porter now calls himself “Beadle,” and the “Systers” have passed through an evolution and been improved from “nurses” into “matrons.” All this while the order and discipline of the children, when not in charge of the masters, have rested in the hands of these two functionaries, and truly the standing wonder is that the discipline has been so good.

To take the Beadle first. Our account of St. Matthew's Day customs has shown that his duties were not confined at first to the Hospital, but that he combined with them the powers of a policeman in the streets and as such was under the supervision of the City Marshall. The duty of these Beadles, as laid down in the “Order” of 1557, was to walk every day, “two and two together,” through the wards of the City and to “*apprehend* and convey to Bridewell” all “*vagrant* and idle persons.” Both the words and the circumstances suggest that we are in the near neighbourhood of Dogberry and Verges. At the time the “Order” was drawn up, the Porter was clearly more concerned with duties inside the walls of the Hospital. “You shalbe attendant diligently and carefully in looking to the gates; chiefly in the winter evenings, and se them shut in at a due hour, and after they be shut in, to be circumspect whom you let in and out.” The hour for the latest admission is nine p.m. in winter and ten p.m. in “somer season.” “Faile you not this to obserue, as you will answer thereunto if any complaint come thereof, before the *gouvernours*. And you shall not make or medle in any other man's office, but duely doe your owne.” In course of time, however, it happened that the Beadles were more and more employed inside the Hospital, while the Porter added to his duties various functions which eked out his scanty emoluments, and it was no wonder that in early days masters did not think scorn to be appointed to look after the Lodge. One reason why this office was in request was that the staff as a rule were thirsty souls. In 1683 the Committee desired the opinion of the Court as to a report “that severall persons in this Hospitall doe send for beere from the Buttery which hath hitherto

been delivered to them and by Computation it amounts to 3 Barrells in each weeke—which is a considerable charge to this House yearly." Mr. Parrey, the Chief Clerk, who was apt to indulge, and whose indulgence (as the letters in the British Museum reveal) landed him in applying for a small loan to Mr. Pepys, produced an order of the Court in 1638, which clearly settled the matter. "From henceforth," it ran, "the Steward shall not deliver any small Beere to any officer of this House w'soever." But, if the Buttery ran dry, there was always the Lodge to go to. It was reported in 1625 that John Phillips, the Porter, "did keepe an Alehouse in his lodge without the license and consent of the Gouvernors." The Porter's answer to the accusation was that "hee did it for the comoditie of the Neighboures and the officers of this House," but he was met at once by an order "that no drinke shalbe sold in this house by him nor any officer or pson whatsoever." It would appear that the Order was honoured in the breach; indeed in 1636 Phillips came forward once more with a petition to be allowed to keep "a Tippling house for the selling of drinke and victualling." His predecessor had it, he argued, and it would tend to "the satisfying of his creditors." But he failed to get leave. How far the Puritan era dispensed with "small Beere" does not appear from our records, but at the Restoration there is again a beeben at the Lodge. H. Bannister, the Porter of 1662, "employs a maide servant" to attend to the gate and "keeps an Alehouse in this house, which may prove very prejuditiall to the same and the inhabitants therein, in regard hee keeps the keyes and may lett in and out whom he pleases at all hours of the night." If it happens again, he will "be dismissed from his place *ipso facto*," and *ipso facto* was a terrific phrase among the scribes of the Counting House. But the Governors themselves were partly responsible for this particular taproom. The very next year, 1663, "it was the desire of severall Gent: some of them members of this Hospitall that the place in the Stewards garden heretofore a bouleing Alley might be fitted for that use, and the said psons would engage that none but civell persons should

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Mr. Ashton (p. 81) gives particulars of an incident which by itself might have been sufficient to put an end to the custom as far as the "Blues" were concerned. On December 5th, 1775, a man appeared before the Guildhall bench to answer a charge of tampering with a lottery. He was shown to have insured a certain ticket seventy-nine times for one day. The witnesses included the "Blue," whom this enterprising person, by means of "several half-guineas"

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eleven, it is obvious that the hour from 6 a.m. to 7 a.m. (summer) and 7 a.m. to 8 a.m. (winter) was all the time allowed for toilet and breakfast. It would be scarcely less than an insult to antiquity to describe the washing accommodation prior to about 1860 as "primitive." For instance, the Committee had the question of a Bath before them in 1689, and did "not think it advisable that a hothouse or place for salivating (*sic*) should be made in this Hospital. But (with submission) doe think it very adviseable that a convenient bath that will hold 6 children at the least be made." In the same year there is a reference to the system that has prevailed to this present of washing under taps. "There was formerly a sett of small cocks neare the Wash-house for all the children to wash themselves separately, soe that they might not wash together in Tubbs (as they now doo)"; and they decided that there should be henceforth one set of taps "above staires" for the "Mathemats," and "a convenient place below staires for the rest of the children that soo they may wash their hands apart."

However it might be accomplished, the Nurse's duty is thus given in an order of 1676: "In the morning at the ringing of the second bell [presumably at 6.30 or 7.30 according to the time of year] every Nurse shall put her Children before the Steward and Matron in the Hall in a handsome and cleanly dresse, and then and there make complaint of what misdemeanours have been Acted by their children the night past." In order to detect truants "a perfect Catalogue of the Children's names" was to be read over at each meal. After morning school came dinner; after afternoon school there would be an interval before supper, during which the children were permitted to amuse themselves within certain narrow restrictions to be mentioned directly. It is probable that the present supper-hour, six o'clock, has never varied; modern times have only postponed the hour for going to bed, and the last scene of all from November 1695 to the present time has been the ringing of "the Hospital's publick bell" at "three quarters of an hour past nine o'clock" in order that all strangers might withdraw by ten.

Hospital life,—namely the “Porter” and the “Syster.” The Porter now calls himself “Beadle,” and the “Systers” have passed through an evolution and been improved from “nurses” into “matrons.” All this while the order and discipline of the children, when not in charge of the masters, have rested in the hands of these two functionaries, and truly the standing wonder is that the discipline has been so good.

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prominent Governor would often come forward and ask for lenient consideration, as Sir Francis Child did in behalf of two truants ("Mathemats," as usual) in 1710. Thereupon they compounded for their offence by undergoing what was technically called "the correction of the House"; that is to say, a beadle publicly birched them round the Hall, to give the others an appetite for their meal. Those who went into exile were always provided with a suit of "towny" clothes, with the natural exception of a boy whose father wrote to the Committee in 1704. This boy had absented himself for "severall months," and the father calmly asked that a suit of clothes might be provided for his son as he could not afford to buy any. Naturally the Committee decided not to "show him any countenance or favour whatsoever."

But, as they were too zealous of their charge to resort to expulsion with any frequency, it was necessary to have other terrors in order to keep the young people within the bounds both of the Hospital and of propriety. Thus in 1714 it was acknowledged that "the usual correction" was not effective, and the Governors resorted in the first instance to an attack on the offenders' dignity. In future "every boy running away should be set at the lower end of the Table in the Hall to which he belongs for the space of three months & soe toties quoties as he shall comitt the like fault." But clearly the truants were not deterred by the unwonted Latinity of the Counting House; for it was laid down only four months later (January 1715) that for the first "chasing" a boy "shall be put into the Dungeon there to remain three days and three nights and be fed with Bread and Water and for the second offence to be expelled this House." On another occasion the punishment inflicted was that of being "confined three days in Easter week [when no work was done] and afterwards sweep the Hall for a week." But there were physical expedients of a more stringent character. "Mathemats" who without leave have "walked down the Keys or wharfs by the River" are "collered during M^r Treasurers pleasure" (September 1719). Another "Mathe-mat," who "got notoriously drunk" when his school made

its annual appearance before the Lords of the Admiralty, has to "wear the collar," and when the collar is taken off, he is banished to the Writing School, presumably to have some practical instruction on the Temperance question. Two youths (I grieve to repeat that they also were "Mathemats") "had behaved themselves insolently in the great Hall to M^r Steward" on Friday, May 10th, 1728, and they were ordered to "wear the Clog and Collar till Wednesday morning next." This apparently Chinese punishment must be interpreted in the light of what happened to two who had stolen a tart from "a Pastery Cooks Shop in Blow Bladder Street." They must be "severely whipt and wear the Collar for a week" (November 1725), but one of them, who was "seduced" to the doing of this dreadful deed, had "his Clogg taken off." In the same way two Hertford boys who had run away and been conveyed by some good soul to Newgate Street (March 1733) "were sent back to Hertford with their Cloggs and Collars on."

But the Governors, like many public school authorities in our own day, were determined to give every chance to moral expedients. This is comically illustrated in an order of August, 1728, which was drawn up with a wealth of words implying the presence of a solicitor's clerk in the Counting House. The first offence whether of "the Royall Mathematicall Boys" or of the rest, is to have its "reasonable punishment" at the hands of the master or the Steward. In case of a second transgression "he or they" shall "not be imployed as Monitor or Monitors"; shall be degraded from "his or their seat or place" in Hall "to the lower end of the said Table"; and "shall at every meal, Breakfast Dinner and Supper," before going to the lowest room now assigned to them, "goe orderly and of his or their own accord to the place in the said Hall comonly called the Stone and after Grace said then and there in most humble and submissive manner on his or their knees publicly and audibly say and Repeat such form of Prayer or Declaration" as the Almoners shall appoint. The criminals shall then rise and "ask pardon of all then

been delivered to them and by Computation it amounts to 3 Barrells in each weeke—which is a considerable charge to this House yearly.” Mr. Parrey, the Chief Clerk, who was apt to indulge, and whose indulgence (as the letters in the British Museum reveal) landed him in applying for a small loan to Mr. Pepys, produced an order of the Court in 1638, which clearly settled the matter. “From henceforth,” it ran, “the Steward shall not deliver any small Beere to any officer of this House w’soever.” But, if the Buttery ran dry, there was always the Lodge to go to. It was reported in 1625 that John Phillips, the Porter, “did keepe an Alehouse in his lodge without the license and consent of the Gouernors.” The Porter’s answer to the accusation was that “hee did it for the comoditie of the Neighboures and the officers of this House,” but he was met at once by an order “that no drinke shalbe sold in this house by him nor any officer or p̄son whatsoever.” It would appear that the Order was honoured in the breach; indeed in 1636 Phillips came forward once more with a petition to be allowed to keep “a Tippling house for the selling of drinke and victualling.” His predecessor had it, he argued, and it would tend to “the satisfying of his creditors.” But he failed to get leave. How far the Puritan era dispensed with “small Beere” does not appear from our records, but at the Restoration there is again a shebeen at the Lodge. H. Bannister, the Porter of 1662, “employs a maide servant” to attend to the gate and “keepes an Alehouse in this house, which may prove very prejuditiall to the same and the inhabitants therein, in regard hee keepes the keyes and may lett in and out whom he pleases at all hours of the night.” If it happens again, he will “be dismissed from his place *ipso facto*,” and *ipso facto* was a terrific phrase among the scribes of the Counting House. But the Governors themselves were partly responsible for this particular taproom. The very next year, 1663, “it was the desire of severall Gent: some of them members of this Hospitall that the place in the Stewards garden heretofore a bouleing Alley might be fitted for that use, and the said p̄sons would engage that none but civell persons should

have the use thereof." The Bowling Alley, for which the then Steward supplied the refreshments, had come to an end in 1638, no doubt as the result of Puritan objections; but now the Court gave a lease of it for thirteen years to the very Porter whom they had ordered not to sell "drinke and victualling."

Quite apart, however, from these enticements to a jovial existence the Beadles had plenty of occupation. The Hospital was for a long time without any great frontage on a main street, yet it did not lack for gates by which to reach the outside world. There was "the door out of Grey fryars into the Gramar Schoole yard" (in the present Hall-Play); "the Town Ditch gate next Little Brittain"; "the doore out of M^r Brice's schoole into the Lodge"; "the gate leading out of the Cloysters along by the Church." In other words, there was ready communication with Newgate Street, Giltspur Street, Christ Church Passage, and Little Britain. And the work of the Beadles came to have several distinct parts. They had to keep young children out; they had to keep the Hospital children in; and they had to police the miscellaneous crowds who frequented the grounds.

The children whom they had to keep out were "foundlings"—a long-lived source of trouble to the School and the neighbourhood. It would seem to have become acute in the latter half of the seventeenth century. During this period there were constant complaints that people brought infants into the Cloisters and left them there in the hope that the Hospital would look after them, and there were constant warnings to the Beadles to patrol the Cloisters and prevent the practice. In the case of a notoriously negligent Beadle, called Robert Guppy, the Governors in 1646 hit upon an ingenious penalty. He was sentenced either to take charge of a recent foundling at his own cost or leave his place. Of course the Governors were very frequently merciful to the young waifs and strays thus forced on them—which only aggravated the trouble—and it must have been hard for the unfortunate Beadles to prevent the "dropping" of the children in the crowded

thoroughfares of the Hospital. Their duties did not allow them to be always patrolling the Cloisters, and in spite of an order (May 1699) that "in such case they are to take care that their wives doe attend the Cloysters in their absence," the leaving of children went on, till the parishioners of Christ Church began to clamour loudly, for every child laid outside the gates of the school became a charge upon them. In 1696 the whole question was argued out before the Court of Aldermen. The Hospital offered to take in one foundling, if the parish would be responsible for the next, and so on alternately, but "the parishioners did not seeme to be contented therewith and soe departed." No *modus vivendi* appears to have been arrived at, nor was anything done except to give the Churchwardens leave to post the following notice at the various school gates (which indeed the Governors should have done at their own expense):—

'These are to certify that no Child or Children who are dropped in Christ's Hospital can receive any benefit from thence.'

In fact, the Beadle was the only hope.

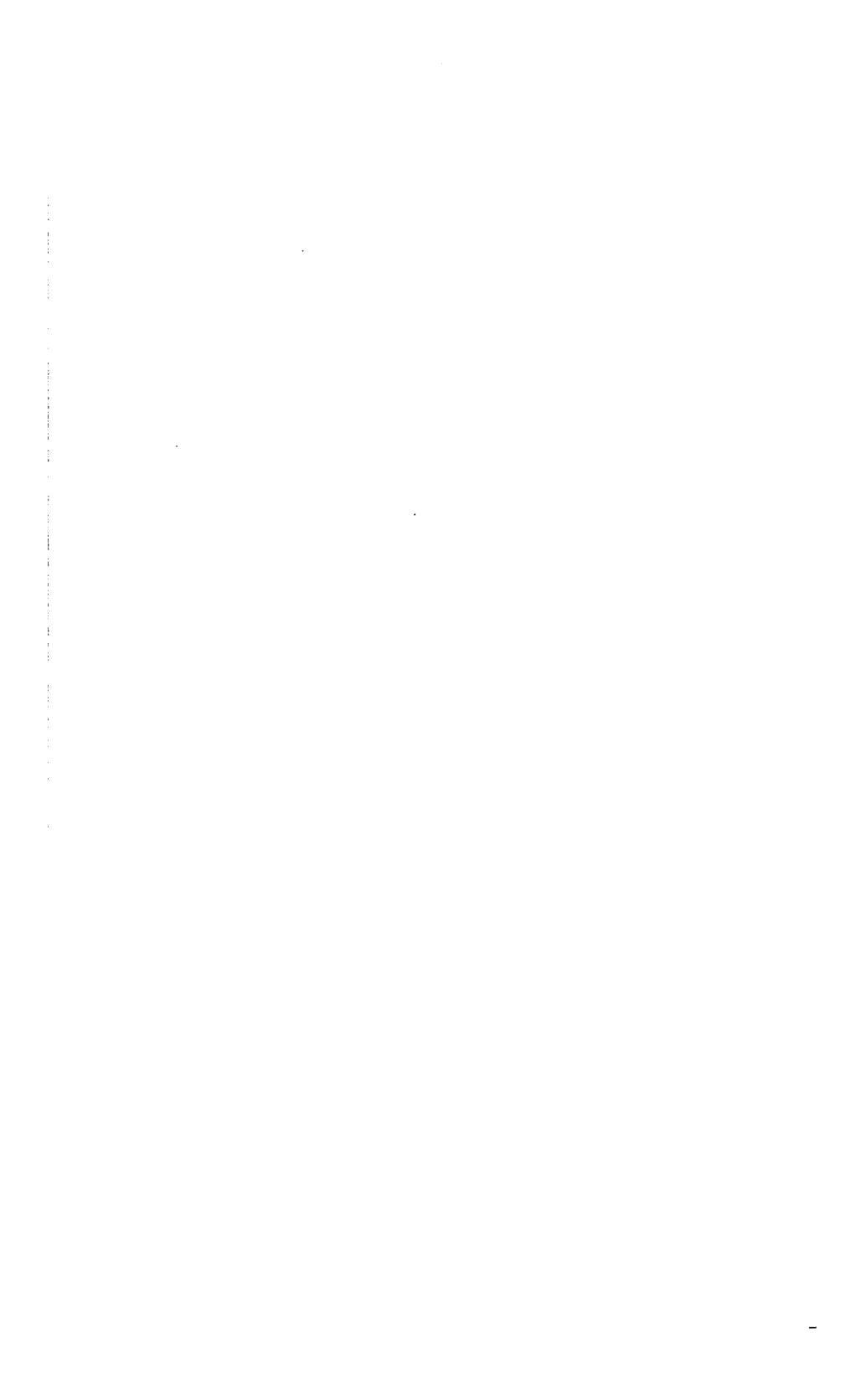
Secondly, there was the greater responsibility of keeping the children of the Hospital within the walls, when the many gates and the constant coming and going made it so easy for them to "slope." It must be remembered that in the modern sense of the word there were no "vacations"; the school was never emptied of its young denizens at any time in the year till the middle of the last century. There were a few days' rest after each of the half-yearly examinations. The stereotyped reports of "the Visitacon of the Schooles" always end with a resolution in these words: "that the masters do break up School and play till Monday morning next." The same thing happened at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and all holy-days were half-holidays. But to "lye abroad at nights," in other words, to go home for a few days, was a penal offence. So "chasing"—in the eighteenth century it was called "elopeing"—became a fine art, in which some of the young gentlemen gave themselves plenty of practice. The year 1710 shall serve as an instance

Two boys (both "Mathemats") ran away in June, eight in July, two in August, and seven in September. The year following would have served equally well; for two went in April, having been convicted of a similar offence the previous September, one in May, five in June, and five in July. The reason for such an epidemic is not given in respect of these particular years, and indeed is very seldom clear. Take the instance of August 1694 (the youths very seldom "chased" in the winter) when "M^r Steward informed this Com^{ee} that there hath been lately ten boyes run away from the House within less than a weekes time (viz^t) three of them lay out about 10 dayes and the rest a night or two, but are all now returned againe & have received the usuall correction of the House." So the Committee sent for them "and inquired of them what reason they can give for their goeing away; they all made very triviall excuses, except Edward Audley, who alledged that he hath been frequently beaten and abused by the upper boyes of the King's ward for not procuring them money as oft as they would have it." *Per contra* the "Mathemats" alleged that Audley was "a very lying boy," and the incident was closed in the usual manner "by one of the Beadles." Sometimes the running away had a commercial object, for the Steward was told in June 1690 to "charge all the children that noe one for the future presume to goe to any Taverne Ale house or other publick house to show their writing or to sing or other wayes without leave first obtained from this Com^{ee}." Sometimes it was from a sheer determination to vary the monotony of existence, as when two boys in October 1720 "wandering Northward were from the City of York sent by a pass to Hull and from thence Passed by water to London and almost devoured with itch and lice."

The Beadles, in the midst of all this determination of the children to see the world, clearly had no sinecure. There are occasional orders of the Committee that they should redouble their vigilance; *e.g.* in September 1711, a year already referred to, "that two of the Beadles in turn together with the Porter shall attend the Cloysters and Town-ditch dayly all hours after schooltime and take notice and

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IN 1823



IN 1901

BOYS' WARDS

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE REV. D. F. HEYWOOD

give up the names to the Steward of such Boys as shall presume to goe out of their bounds without leave." This means that they were to keep their eyes open to detect any of the young gentlemen levanting. But the latter were naturally sharper than the Beadles, as the horrible conduct of Thomas Dawson will show (Court Book, December 12, 1717). He "had been notoriously guilty of breaking the good Rules and orders of this House by frequenting the Play-House and other irregularities and immoralities to the ill example of other the children of this House." Worse still, it appeared that "the way of their coming into this Hospital at unseasonable hours was through some of the Tennements on the North side of the Town Ditch," and pains and penalties against the tenants were only remitted on their "entering into a covenant to pay twenty shillings by way of Rent on conviction of every Boy that shall come through any of their houses." In fact, the "Blue" with only the normal tendency to assert the liberty of the subject must have regarded the Beadle in the Cloister as a perpetual check, save in the many instances where Beadles neglected their duty altogether.

In the Wards and in the Hall the Beadle gave place to the Nurse, and Nurses were not aforesaid the kindly and efficient ladies of to-day. They would perhaps reply that they were hardly paid to be either kindly or efficient, for up to 1638 they received 2s. 4d. a week for their "dyet and Board-wages." In that year, "in respect of the hardnes of the times and the deerness of all manner of victualls," the sum was raised to 3s. 6d. in each case, except that of one nurse who receives £6 a year "for dressing the childrens soare heads & mouthes." She shortly afterwards resigned "her place of surgionshipp." But even at 3s. 6d. a week they were not always in a good temper. "Rebeckah Robson, one of the nurses," it is written, May 1641, "hath oftentimes misbehaved herselfe and of late hath abused M^r Treasurer as alsoe the Steward and all the Nurses with ill speeches and bad languages and is a woman full of contention and brawling, which makes the Nurses weary to be in the House

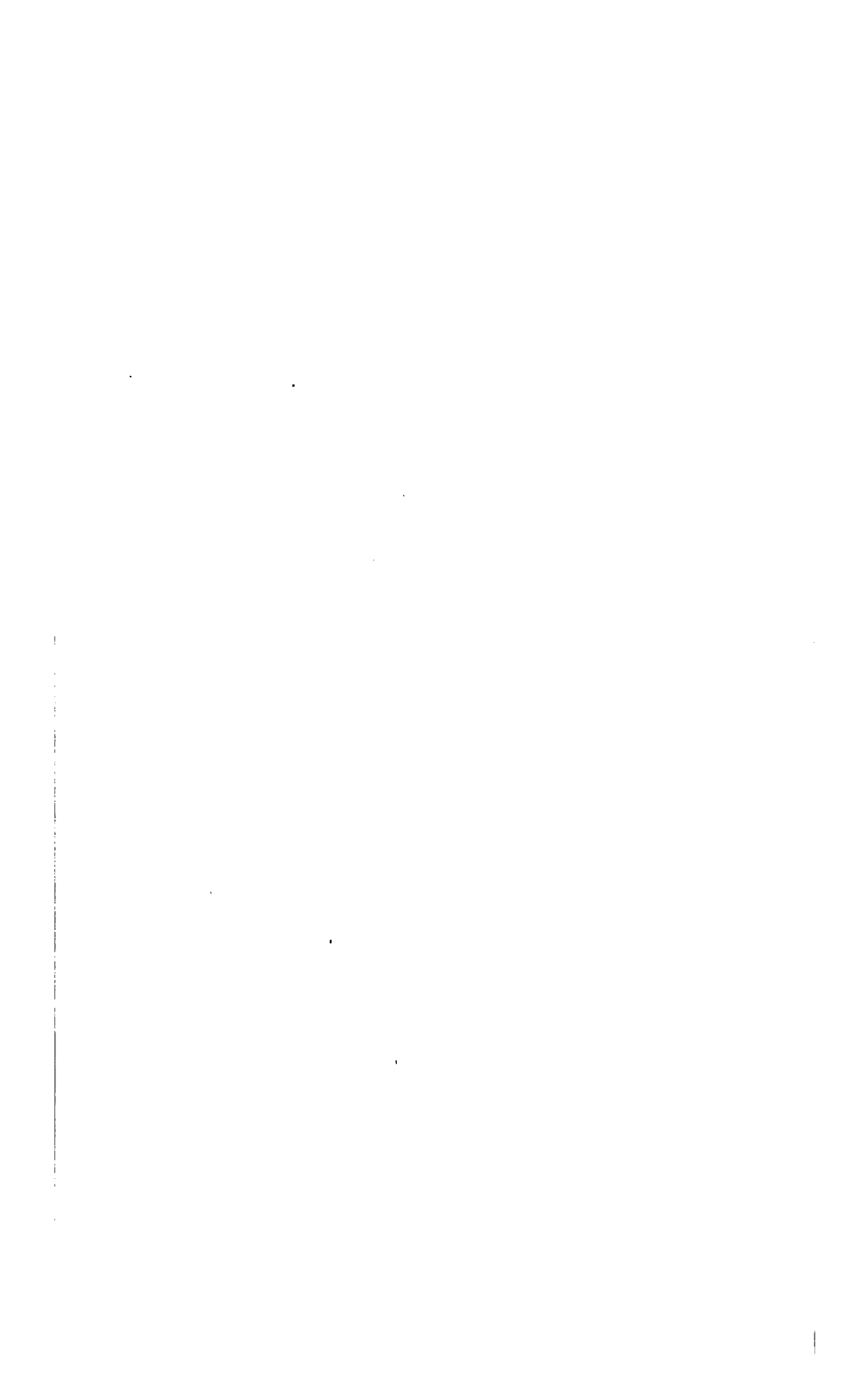
with her. . . . Shee hath fallen out with one of the Nurses and threwe a dish of scalding pottage in her eyes and face, that she hath not been able to come from her bed nor hold up her Eyes." About the same time another nurse had been calling the children "untoward names." They were frequently in trouble for "harbouring" their own children and keeping lodgers in the wards; it will be remembered that a ship's captain brought back a "Mathemat," whom he had taken as apprentice, complaining that the boy had married a nurse's daughter before he went to sea. The nurses also were sometimes reprimanded for keeping the girls of the House as their servants and sending the boys on errands. But considering that their office had its menial side, that it was part of their duty to "water and sweep the Hall morning and att noone," that they had to "constantly weare their blue liveries" on public occasions, it is a wonder that more harm did not come of committing the children to their charge. Against the livery they could and did protest (in 1687), "which gave the Committee noe satisfaction." Against the contempt of the young gentlemen they could arm themselves with an order of the Committee in 1676 "that noe Nurse permitt her children in the Wards to Ware their capps in her presence." At the very outset the nurses were no doubt a necessity. Their charge as composed in 1557 bade them "keepe" and "sweetly noorishe" the "tender babes & younglings" committed to their care. But the Hospital maintained them in their place when it had become a school for boys between eight and nineteen.

It may be well now to say what can be ascertained as to the day's routine in the Hospital during the first two centuries of its existence. For a century and a half the bell rang all the year round at six in the morning, and the children were in school at seven. The present system of making some concession in the winter began in 1702 with an order of Committee that from All Saints Day to Candlemas Day the bell instead of ringing at six shall not be rung till seven in the morning "to call ye children up & at eight to call them to schoole." As morning school lasted straight on till

eleven, it is obvious that the hour from 6 a.m. to 7 a.m. (summer) and 7 a.m. to 8 a.m. (winter) was all the time allowed for toilet and breakfast. It would be scarcely less than an insult to antiquity to describe the washing accommodation prior to about 1860 as "primitive." For instance, the Committee had the question of a Bath before them in 1689, and did "not think it advisable that a hothouse or place for salivating (*sic*) should be made in this Hospital. But (with submission) doe think it very adviseable that a convenient bath that will hold 6 children at the least be made." In the same year there is a reference to the system that has prevailed to this present of washing under taps. "There was formerly a sett of small cocks neare the Wash-house for all the children to wash themselves separately, soe that they might not wash together in Tubbs (as they now doo)"; and they decided that there should be henceforth one set of tappes "above staires" for the "Mathemats," and "a convenient place below staires for the rest of the children that soo they may wash their hands apart."

However it might be accomplished, the Nurse's duty is thus given in an order of 1676: "In the morning at the ringing of the second bell [presumably at 6.30 or 7.30 according to the time of year] every Nurse shall put her Children before the Steward and Matron in the Hall in a handsome and cleanly dresse, and then and there make complaint of what misdemeanours have been Acted by their children the night past." In order to detect truants "a perfect Catalogue of the Children's names" was to be read over at each meal. After morning school came dinner; after afternoon school there would be an interval before supper, during which the children were permitted to amuse themselves within certain narrow restrictions to be mentioned directly. It is probable that the present supper-hour, six o'clock, has never varied; modern times have only postponed the hour for going to bed, and the last scene of all from November 1695 to the present time has been the ringing of "the Hospital's publick bell" at "three quarters of an hour past nine o'clock" in order that all strangers might withdraw by ten.

But, if we are to understand the life of the place by day, it is necessary to go into further details. The School, though devoid of frontage, must have been a strange pandemonium inside; for the buildings till the nineteenth century were never confined to their proper purpose. The public seem to have established rights of way through the grounds. For instance, the present Christ Church Passage represents the custom of passing on business through the old Christ Church under the lantern-tower into the Hospital and out again into Little Britain. The minutes contain constant references to the "Long Walk," whose actual course is not certain, as will be seen in the account of the buildings, but it would seem that it began at Little Britain, passed along the Ditch, then through the West Cloister, and so by the "Grey Friars" to Newgate Street, about opposite to Warwick Lane. This constant coming and going brought with it a large amount of "traffic" in another sense. The first case of this sort after the Great Fire implies that it was only a continuance of a previous system. In December 1666 "Mistress Theame, shoemaker," asked leave "to build her a shopp in y^e cloysters to sell Gingerbread inn, and she would pay the yearely rent of xxx^s"; she further begged the Governors "to build her a Shopp next the Great Gate to the Long Walke [? in Little Britain] and another Shopp within the Walls as formerly for her men to make shoes" for the children. The Governors warned her that "she did keepe very bad howers in the Booth that she hath erected in the Towne Ditch," and she got what she asked on the not extreme condition that she "would not p'mitt hereafter any children of the house to have any drinke att unreasonable howers." In 1717 it appears that Mistress Theame had many successors. "Severall idle persons and others selling fruit and other things are frequently suffered to Loiture and sitt in the Cloysters . . . which is not only of ill consequence to the children but also makes Crowds and Stops to the obstructing of Passingers and other inconveniences." Evidently the various gates left a good deal to be desired, as is shown by an entry of the following year. Incon-





THE ARCHES UNDER THE WRITING SCHOOL

venience, it says, "dayly happens by persons carrying Burthens and sometimes by Cattle running through the Hospital," and it is suggested that the Treasurer should have "a post or an Iron" placed "in the Middle of the Doorways leading to the said Hospital."

Mention has been made elsewhere of Sir John Moore's endowment for the Writing School. It took the form of building shops in the six arches under the building. Wren's design (strangely enough, for the Bath is now close at hand) was to use this space for "a washhouse," but the Treasurer overruled him. The shops were built, and among the tenants were an earthenware dealer, a "cordweyner" (who, however, was not to "mend, sell, or make any show of shooes in his shop," presumably to protect the monopoly of the Hospital's shoemaker), a "sempster" (female), a silver-smith, and a milliner. All but the last paid a rent of £10. The milliner, as having "the first shop next the long walke," and therefore the best position, paid £13. The conditions of their tenancy were as follows: "They shall be single persons *as neere as may be*," and the Hospital is not to be held responsible for any "charge and damage which may happen by their entertaining or harbouring of any friends, relations, &c." They are not to "sell any strong drink or any other liquors whatever," and they are to conform to the hours for shutting up the Hospital at night. But in practice these rules were useless. Within ten years the Governors had to face the necessity either of insuring the Writing School, which was "in great danger of fire by reason of the shops underneath," or of pulling the shops down. Ultimately they did both. In 1712 they insured their building for £1,500, and six years later (1718) they pulled the shops down to make "a playing place." But the boys would never have had their "playing-place" if it had been possible to keep the shopkeepers to their bye-laws and regulations. Witness the comical case of John Hawkins and his wife, who had one of the shops, and who were late home one night in 1710. He was sent for by the Committee next morning, "but he being abroad, his wife came, and said that

the clock had but just gone ten, and that she got round to Gray fryers gate before the keys were carried in." Mr. Hawkins, being "worst in blood to run," came "over the gate next Little Brittain." The Committee sent Mrs. Hawkins away with a message to her husband that "they resent it very ill that he should offer to climb the Gates and advise him to keep better hours."

And beside this continuous traffic of all kinds, there was the occasional excitement of "bonefires," which were stopped "upon any occasion whatsoever" in 1707, and there was the annual excitement of Bartholomew Fair. The actual fun of the Fair centred in a spot outside the walls of Christ's Hospital; but it is evident that the school-grounds were let to stall-keepers during the Fair. Mr. Pepys on August 31st, 1662, after a visit to "a pitiful alehouse," with "a great deal of trouble in being there and getting from thence for fear of being seen," met a bevy of lady friends at the Fair. "After that, with them into Christ's Hospitall, and there Mr Pickering brought them their fairings, and I did give every one of them a bauble." In such surroundings school-work was obviously impossible, and it came to be the custom to "break up school" for some days. But in 1667 appeared an order that "the children shall not play this Barthustide," and that "no booth shall be erected in this hospital this fair tyme." But the first part of it seems to have been disregarded, for there is a still weightier pronouncement on the same subject on August 22nd, 1698. It refers to "the great hazard and mischief that the children of this House may be exposed to both as to their bodies and Moralls, by their being in Bartholemew Fair, and the scandall that may hereby accrue to this House, w^{ch} have been lately charged in print wth unparalleld immorality and irreligion [I understand the Fair to be the antecedent of "which"] and also his Majesties late gracious proclamation against Vice." Taking all this into consideration the Governors wisely ordered "that the children shall be continued at Schoole and the Bell to ringe too morrow morning at the usuall houre" and so throughout the Fair.

Amid all this excitement and with so many interests to be considered, it may well be asked what chance there was of the boys getting proper exercise. Even now, with the generous expanse of the Hall-Play entirely at their disposal, the "Blues" are athletic, as the Scotchman is slanderously affirmed to be humorous, "wi' deefficulty," and their games have been attended by a good many "surgical operations." But up to a century ago everything seemed to combine against them. The Governors' usual formula must have been "writ sarcastic"; it appears in an order just subsequent to the one last quoted, which agreed that, having been deprived of their "Fair tyme" holiday, the children "shall have liberty to play from this time" (September 27th, 1698) until October 10th. But how much "liberty" did they get? The first restriction was quite fit and proper. Some of the Almoners of 1678 belonged to the Anti-Gambling League and did "forewarne the children that they play not att any game for money." Again, as the "Hall-Play" was not then an "open space," the natural place for games was in the "Ditch"; but the Hospital had tenants on the north side of the Town-Ditch, who objected to games, and possibly with some reason. "The inhabitants near the Towne Ditch," says a minute of 1678, "doe very much complaine of the rude behaviour of the children of this Hospitall who with their Racketts and otherwayes break their Windows with Stones." The Governors called the Steward and told him to go round and "command them to desist from such exercises as may prove prejudiciall to the said inhabitants." Hampered by the crotchety inhabitants of the "Ditch," the youngsters would try the "Garden," and just off the Garden, not separated from it as clearly as now, was the Counting House Yard. Every "Blue" remembers its sacro-sanctity; we hesitated even to recover from it a ball that had got there through no fault of ours. This tradition can be dated quite early in the eighteenth century, when there was a complaint of the "mischief and inconveniences . . . of the children being permitted to frequent and Play in the Compting House Yard, they not only doing much damage by breaking the

windows but by their noise greatly obstructing and hindering of business and interrupting of Courts and Committees." It was ordered that from henceforth the Counting House Yard should be left in the peace which is still its pride. Once more there is about this time a reference to the games, which implies a further restriction of freedom. It takes the form of a report, dated February 12th, 1725, upon "the great Mischiefs and inconveniences that dayly arise as well to Persons passing thro' this Hospitall as to and amongst the Children of the said Hospital, occasioned by their throwing of Snow-balls Playing at Football throwing at Cocks or Bricks or other things sett up in imitation of Cocks Trapp ball or Crickett Castle Topps throwing Balls or Sticks one at another or other such like games or pastimes were (*sic*) sticks are used as also in Running about the House in the Evening with lighted Torches Links or Candles throwing the same at each other to the endangering of the Hospital by Fire." It is no great wonder that the last should be forbidden, but a *fiat* went forth against all the games mentioned. I have left the Minute as it stands, without a suspicion of punctuation, but it appears to warrant the belief that the "Blue" of King George I.'s reign recognised Football, which was characteristic of Shrove-Tuesday, a day not far removed from February 12th; Aunt Sally; Trap-ball or Cricket, which came into the public schools in the reign of George I., and cannot have been very scientific on the cobbles of the Ditch and would hardly be permitted on the turf of the "Garden"; Castle, a game which survived in my time on summer evenings under such names as "Storm the Castle," etc.; Top-spinning, which still adds a terror to life about Easter time; and some form of "Rounders," which seems to be implied in "throwing Balls or Sticks one at another." The list is a fairly comprehensive one, and it is questionable whether the notice posted up "that for the future no such things be permitted or suffered to be done by the said Children" received or was meant to receive very much attention.

Still it is no wonder that, if their games were interfered

with and they had no outlet for superfluous energy, they not seldom became unmanageable. Sometimes it was necessary for the Almoners, as in 1674, to go "upp into the great hall" and "having called all the children of the House together" to "press the said children to yield obedience to the orders of this house"; or that they should have to call the masters together, as in 1703, when the latter "all delivered it as their opinion that, notwithstanding they use all possible care to observe and correct the boyes for their bad moralls, yet they are much more ungovernable than heretofore"; or that some of the youths had to be held in check with a threat that they should "certainly be sent to Bridewell and be kept to hard labour for a month." The chief offenders against public order both then and long afterwards, as "Elia" testifies, were the "Mathemats." Beadles complained that they "gave ill language at home" and showed "rude behaviour abroad" at funerals. "Mr Mountfort alsoe complained against them for their insolence and sawcey carriage to him at Catechizing time" (March 1707). There was a similar incident in 1719, when the culprits "expressing a just sorrow for their fault received a reprimand from the Right Worp^l The President." In 1728 there was a serious epidemic of Mathematical bullying, "chiefly by the Boys in the upper class and sometimes by the Boys in the second class." It took the form of these young pirates "insulting beating and keeping in subjection the other children . . . and taking from them their money, caps, girdles, and other things, and compelling them to goe on errands and do servile offices, as cleaneing their shoes, waiteing and being attendant on them as servants." The year following one of the "Dames" lets in some light on to their system by complaining to the Committee that "they did not conforme to the Discipline and Rules observed in the Ward" but "gave very rude saucy and unbecoming language to her" and "governed themselves by Rules and orders of their own, inventing and making which they handed down from one to the other." It appears from an entry of April 4th, 1734, that their insubordination was worst "after they have passed

their examinacon at the Trinity House," when "they look upon themselves as no longer subject to the Rules and Discipline of the House." Nor were the "Mathemats" the only offenders. Paul Wright, the head Grecian in 1735, was also brought up on a charge of bullying. He was ordered to make "the Publick Recantation" (of which more directly) and to "make a theam in Latin and English" on a subject to be selected by the Upper Grammar Master. But Paul Wright had other views on the subject, and some time afterwards it was reported that he had "neglected to make any such theam, altho upwards of nine weeks ago his Master had ever since excused his nightly exercise the better to enable him to do so." He was therefore sentenced to bring it up on "Tuesday sevensnights." Apparently he obeyed, for within a month he was sent up to Pembroke with "the usuall exhibitions and settling Fees." He afterwards took Orders, obtained Hospital livings, preached a St. Matthew's Day sermon, and in 1781 issued "**The complete British Family Bible**" in eighty numbers, as "the result of more than forty years' Study and Experience." It professes among other things that in it "all the difficult and obscure passages will be clearly explained," and "the whole of the Divine Revelation . . . displayed in its original Purity, and rendered easy, pleasant, and profitable to every capacity, both with respect to Faith and Practice."* Evidently it must not only have been cheap at any price but must also have implied a repentance of its author's youthful neglect of his "theam."

The latter was by no means the only form of pains and penalties in vogue at the Hospital. The most serious in its consequences was expulsion, and this seems to have been seldom resorted to, for the good Governors had no mind to ease them of their responsibilities in this way. Most of those who incurred it expelled themselves. They ran away and never returned. At the end of some months it was noted that they were absent, and their names were taken off the books. If sentence of banishment was passed, some

* J. I. WILSON, *Christ's Hospital*, ed. 1821, p. 197.

prominent Governor would often come forward and ask for lenient consideration, as Sir Francis Child did in behalf of two truants ("Mathemats," as usual) in 1710. Thereupon they compounded for their offence by undergoing what was technically called "the correction of the House"; that is to say, a beadle publicly birched them round the Hall, to give the others an appetite for their meal. Those who went into exile were always provided with a suit of "towny" clothes, with the natural exception of a boy whose father wrote to the Committee in 1704. This boy had absented himself for "severall months," and the father calmly asked that a suit of clothes might be provided for his son as he could not afford to buy any. Naturally the Committee decided not to "show him any countenance or favour whatsoever."

But, as they were too zealous of their charge to resort to expulsion with any frequency, it was necessary to have other terrors in order to keep the young people within the bounds both of the Hospital and of propriety. Thus in 1714 it was acknowledged that "the usual correction" was not effective, and the Governors resorted in the first instance to an attack on the offenders' dignity. In future "every boy running away should be set at the lower end of the Table in the Hall to which he belongs for the space of three months & soe toties quoties as he shall comitt the like fault." But clearly the truants were not deterred by the unwonted Latinity of the Counting House; for it was laid down only four months later (January 1715) that for the first "chasing" a boy "shall be put into the Dungeon there to remain three days and three nights and be fed with Bread and Water and for the second offence to be expelled this House." On another occasion the punishment inflicted was that of being "confined three days in Easter week [when no work was done] and afterwards sweep the Hall for a week." But there were physical expedients of a more stringent character. "Mathemats" who without leave have "walked down the Keys or wharfs by the River" are "collared during M^r Treasurers pleasure" (September 1719). Another "Mathemat," who "got notoriously drunk" when his school made

its annual appearance before the Lords of the Admiralty, has to "wear the collar," and when the collar is taken off, he is banished to the Writing School, presumably to have some practical instruction on the Temperance question. Two youths (I grieve to repeat that they also were "Mathemats") "had behaved themselves insolently in the great Hall to M^r Steward" on Friday, May 10th, 1728, and they were ordered to "wear the Clog and Collar till Wednesday morning next." This apparently Chinese punishment must be interpreted in the light of what happened to two who had stolen a tart from "a Pastery Cooks Shop in Blow Bladder Street." They must be "severely whipt and wear the Collar for a week" (November 1725), but one of them, who was "seduced" to the doing of this dreadful deed, had "his Clogg taken off." In the same way two Hertford boys who had run away and been conveyed by some good soul to Newgate Street (March 1733) "were sent back to Hertford with their Cloggs and Collars on."

But the Governors, like many public school authorities in our own day, were determined to give every chance to moral expedients. This is comically illustrated in an order of August, 1728, which was drawn up with a wealth of words implying the presence of a solicitor's clerk in the Counting House. The first offence whether of "the Royall Mathematicall Boys" or of the rest, is to have its "reasonable punishment" at the hands of the master or the Steward. In case of a second transgression "he or they" shall "not be imployed as Monitor or Monitors"; shall be degraded from "his or their seat or place" in Hall "to the lower end of the said Table"; and "shall at every meal, Breakfast Dinner and Supper," before going to the lowest room now assigned to them, "goe orderly and of his or their own accord to the place in the said Hall comonly called the Stone and after Grace said then and there in most humble and submissive manner on his or their knees publickly and audibly say and Repeat such form of Prayer or Declaration" as the Almoners shall appoint. The criminals shall then rise and "ask pardon of all then



THE PULPIT IN THE HALL

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE REV. D. F. HEYWOOD

present whom they have offended and of the children for the ill example" given them. The Almoners within a week were ready with a stupendous form of Recantation which deserves to be rescued from the obscurity of the Minute-Book :—

'I . . . having in more instances than one offended against the Discipline of this House, and being now made sensible of my Misbehaviour, by which I have rendered myself obnoxious to the just censure of my Superiors; and out of a great abhorrence of those crimes I doe acknowledge openly and confess, that I, being over ruled by a disobedient and obstinate spirit, have resisted that authority, which I ought, as oblig'd by the good and laudable and established Orders of this House, to have submitted to. For which and all other my late Follies and Misdemeanours, I declare myself sincerely penitent, and in the first place do humbly ask Pardon of my Maker, whom I have highly offended, and of the Worshipful the Governors; and submissively ask pardon of my Masters and all officers whom I have affronted, & of my schoolfellows to whom I have sett a scandalous example, hoping by this hearty submission and Recantation that I may in some measure recover the esteem of those whom I have anyways injured, resolving by the assistance of the Divine Grace, so to behave myself for the future time of my continuance here, as not to do anything that may give offence or be of bad example to my Schoolfellows.'

This appalling deliverance was to be at once read out to all the children in the Great Hall "by the present boy who reads in the Pulpit," and was afterwards to be regularly recited as a sort of bugbear to intending malefactors. Moreover, there is no doubt that for years the various criminals in the school had to go to "the Stone" and repeat it on their knees; for instance, "a boy who has twice run away" (July 1732), Paul Wright, aforesaid, (March 1735), and six "Mathemats" who had been "tendring their Silver Badges to sale" (October 1735). Unfortunately, it is hard to see how the confession, being couched in verbiage which even Paul Wright would have to stop and think about, can have been anything but a not very solemn farce, while its effect on the rest of the School would be dissipated by the fact that

their meal was served so many minutes later than usual. There is much more common sense in the proceedings of a number of Governors who had met at "the New England Coffee House" to make rules for the prevention of so much running out of bounds. Their expedients involve a good deal of responsibility being laid on Monitors. Before the conclusion of each meal the Steward is to send Monitors to each gate, who are to take down the names of any boy going out without a ticket, but are not told to stop him! In the same fashion the Beadles are told to "attend at the top of the Gallery-Stairs in Church-Time to see that the Children who go down return," whereas it would have been more effective if the Beadles had been posted at the bottom of the stairs or at the Church doors. The children are to sit in Hall in order of seniority, and each is to give notice to the Steward "of his next fellow that is absent." A more sensible practice which survives to this present is laid down in the direction that "every night, as soon as the Children are called over by their names and begin Duty [*i.e.* evening prayers] in their severall wards," the door is to be locked and absentees are to be reported in the morning. Any such absentees are to be punished, "and, if that Dont answer, then to bring them before the next Committee." I am afraid it turned out that neither the bringing before the Committee nor the "Publick Recantation" seemed to "answer"; for in April 1739 there is again a reference to the "Scandalous liberty taken by the Children in Running out of Bounds on Sundays and other Days and thereby Absenting themselves from Church and the Hall." So much so, that early in the following year two further expedients were resolved upon by the genial Inquisition of the Court Room. The first order was "that a Post be affixed up in the Great Hall of this Hospital for the more exemplary correction of such Children who shall hereafter be guilty of very Hainous Crimes"; secondly, that, "to deter them from committing any Notorious Crimes, the antient order of Punishment by Whiping (*sic*) the Children on their Naked Backs Round the Hall be for the future revived and put in Prac-

tice." Sad to relate, a Beadle was guilty of "disclosing to the children" these stern resolutions, "whereby they run away to prevent such punishment"; but the Committee soon secured a *corpus vile* in the shape of a "Mathemat," who "has sold his badge for Five shillings and with part of the Money bought a Horse Pistoll which he charged with a Bullet and shott through the door of his Nurses Room."

It must not, however, be supposed that the boys were rigidly restricted all the year round to the confines of the Hospital. All that was required at any time was that they should get leave from the Catechiser or the Steward. Arrangements were also made for their going out for walks. As early as 1678 the Catechiser received directions "that upon any holy day he permitt but one ward of boyes to goe forth and that they bee enjoyned to goe to Islington Fields and that one of the Beadles shall goe forth with the Children to take notice of their Behaiour." In the same way the "guirles" were to "goe halfe att one time and halfe att another on Holy Days." Clearly the Committee of 1721 at "the New England Coffee House" was prepared to give plenty of "leave," for it recommended that five or six hundred "new ticketts be struck on Copper or Brass" with "a whole (*sic*) through the rims for string to prevent their loosing them." The probability is that the boys had too much "leave" rather than too little, for it is hard to account in any other way for penalties being threatened to any boy who "shall at any time be found drinking at any Alehouse," or for the—probably by no means unwelcome—injunction to the Beadles to patrol the neighbouring Alehouses or "any other they shall suspect any of the boys may frequent."

Before this chapter can pass on to modern times, it is necessary to give some account of the ancient office of Steward. This personage has been mentioned more than once in connexion with the discipline of the school, and up to about 1860 he had independent charge of the boys out of school hours, being responsible only to the Committee. He had to preside at their meals and see to their personal neatness.

He assigned them to their wards and appointed monitors, though apparently with some reference to the Upper Grammar Master. He was commander-in-chief of the Beadles, and regulated the system on which the youths had leave to go out. It was his business to be present at the services which they attended in Christ Church, where, says Trollope, "their deportment is closely watched, and any indecent or undevout conduct is reprimanded or punished." In addition to his duties as a disciplinarian the Steward was the commissariat officer. In the year 1860 came an important change. The Steward was then left to the duties appropriate to his name, and to the care of the clothing department, his responsibilities for keeping order out of school passing to a new official entitled the Warden. At first the Warden was independent of the Head Master, he was generally a retired military officer, and the result was to set up a sort of dual control. His very title caused misunderstandings, and for every outsider who took him for a drill-serjeant there was probably another who believed him to be Head Master. Since 1876 the Warden has been entirely subordinate to the Head Master; but even so, and well as the system has worked, it is not satisfactory that boys should be responsible out of school to an official who cannot control them during school-hours, or that during school-hours they should be under an authority which has no powers out of school.

Modern times have seen great changes both in "leave" and in holidays. In Trollope's day alternate Wednesdays were "whole-leave-days" for everyone, besides the many occasional days, such as Founder's Day, the Sovereign's and the President's birthdays, King Charles' Martyrdom, King Charles II.'s Restoration, the Great Fire Day (September 2nd), Gunpowder Plot Day, Lord Mayor's Day, the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth and many holy-days. In fact there were some forty whole holidays in addition to the alternate Wednesdays. Wednesdays and Saturdays were half-holidays, when special leave was granted to the boys to go out after their midday meal. On the other hand, the vacations were still short,—eleven days at Easter (when comparatively few

boys went home), four weeks in the summer, and fifteen days at Christmas. But the Commissioners of 1837 found that the occasional holidays were considerably cut down and the vacations extended, and in recent years there has been further progress in this direction.

Nor is it necessary to add that the factious interference of the Committee with games is a thing of the past. True, there is little possibility of any but rather hazardous athletics on an asphalt pavement. But the great generosity of the present Treasurer and his predecessor, Mr. J. D. Allcroft, has provided a ground in the suburbs, and for many years the Christ's Hospital Cricket Club and the Christ's Hospital Football Club have sent out their challenges and acquitted themselves as well as their limited opportunities for practice would permit. Grecians and Deputy Grecians have found in the Christ's Hospital Rowing Club, which in its essence existed far back in the nineteenth century, a means of preparing themselves for college contests at the Universities, though there it has generally been found that, however good their "form," they are lacking in weight. The annals of the University Boat Race do not therefore make the Christ's Hospital "Blues" famous among "Blues" of another sort. The last twenty years have also seen systematic gymnasium instruction provided for the whole school on the site of the old Giltspur Street "Compter."

All this activity out of school hours has told immeasurably upon the discipline of the place. The violence of the "Mathemats" and the occasional bullying by the bigger fellows have disappeared. The Beadle, the official castigat^{or} of old times, holds in that respect a comparative sinecure. And, in a similar connexion, the cane has practically vanished from the class-room. The evidence before the Commissioners of 1837 "led to the conviction that some reformation was needed in this matter," and they noted that regulations had already been introduced "which we trust will effectually guard against any future abuse." But many a "Blue," whose time fell during the middle of the nineteenth century, will smile at the Commissioners' innocent

confidence, and the present Head Master could unfold a tale of the difficulties he has had in bringing about a state of things in which a thrashing under any circumstances either in school or out of school is a nine days' wonder. In the words quoted elsewhere, the staff has learnt to enforce obedience "more by shame than smart."

CHAPTER XV.

AFTER SCHOOL

"So I put on my coat and waistcoat, and, what was stranger, my hat."

LEIGH HUNT.

IT is not the purpose of this volume to give a detailed list, still less the biographies, of all the distinguished sons of Christ's Hospital. Such a list, admirable as it might be, would provoke comparisons which would not be wholly favourable to our Foundation, especially if the reader does not stop to consider that a "Blue," when he starts in life, has in almost every case neither money nor influence at his back. His old nursing-mother in Newgate Street has done all she can to fit him for the battle, but she cannot fight it for him, and, if he had a posse of wealthy and influential friends, he could have had no right to receive her nursing.

It is the more unnecessary to give any list of famous Christ's Hospital scholars, as a record has been prepared with infinite pains by Mr. A. W. Lockhart, the present Steward. What is proposed as the subject of this chapter is the system by which "Blues" were sent to the Universities, or otherwise started in life, rather than the individual results of the system. It should be understood that when the Hospital took charge of a child, it considered itself (certainly till one hundred years ago) responsible not only for its education but also for giving it a fair start in life. The boy or girl on entering the school passed from the parental control. During the years they were on the foundation the children never slept at home. They were fed and clothed both physically and intellectually, and the ingenuity of parents must have been taxed to find any "extras" to provide. We have seen

that the children fell naturally into two classes, the clever and the not-clever. The latter were apprenticed, and the former were prepared for the Universities. It has been said that the earliest register of names is lost, and the personal history of our exhibitioners begins with the year 1566. At that time it would appear that the sums voted for their support at the Universities came out of the ordinary funds of the Hospital, and were sent, as they are to this day, not to the student but to his tutor. John Prestman, the first of this long line, was granted "xii^d weklie" while at Cambridge, and when he migrated, according to the custom of the time, to the sister University, the grant was continued on condition that "his tute^r or gouno^r of the house wheare he is shall wryte to this corte of his aptnes." The Court began in his case (assuming for the moment that he was the first, which is by no means likely) a custom, which it maintained for a couple of centuries, of making a gift ("5 mke") "towrds his charge and aparell in pcedinge Batchellar." And Richard Colf (1569) is worth mentioning as having received in common with every exhibitioner to this day "soche bookes as he hath written for." Indeed so keenly did the Governors feel the need of going ahead with this part of their work, that in 1569 we find them sending the Treasurer and three of their number to "M^r Secreterie Cissell" to "moue hym touching the prefermēt of certaine of the children of this house to the vniūsitie, to thintent the Quenes pleasure may by him be knouen therein."

No doubt their difficulty was a financial one, and those who believed most heartily in the future of the Hospital soon came to their aid. In this, as in other good works, Dame Ramsey was among the first. Thomas Dixon, in 1574, left enough to send one scholar to Oxford, but Lady Ramsey's will of 1599 gave £40 a year to the Master of Peterhouse to be laid out for the support of four scholars and of two fellows to be elected from among these scholars. They were to be "the sons of poor men of the Queen's subjects born within this realm, and that of the poorest sort of men not able to give maintenance to such children."



DAME MARY RAMSEY

FROM AN ENGRAVING OF THE PORTRAIT IN THE COURT ROOM

Every such scholar on his admission had to swear "that he had not only a mind and intent to endeavour himself to learning, but also that his purpose was to enter into the ministry of GOD's holy word, and become a publisher and preacher of the same." And every such fellow was obliged within one year to enter into holy orders, and took upon himself the not inconsiderable promise that he would "in all his sermons praise GOD for the godly act of Lady Ramsey done to his church." For some reason, the responsibility for which the College and the Hospital must share between them, Lady Ramsey's good intentions towards the Hospital have not been carried out, as the following figures will show. In the thirty years (1599-1629) after the date of her bequest, six, or possibly seven, boys went from the Hospital to Peterhouse on the good lady's foundation. But in the 250 years that elapsed between 1629 and the throwing open of all such scholarships, only six "Blues" were elected scholars of Peterhouse, of whom Jeremiah Markland was one. As the Hospital all that time was able to provide students for other colleges, the reason could not be that there was not among the children "brought up and instructed in the grammar school there, any one worthy or sufficient to be elected." It would appear at this distance that it was the obvious duty of the Master of Peterhouse to send to the Hospital and obtain his pupils, and in 1663, when no "Blue" had had his fair share of the Lady Ramsey benefaction for thirty years, some members of the School Committee, who had been on a visit to Cambridge, thought that the Master of Peterhouse ought to be looked after, to see whether her ladyship's will "hath been p'formed according to a deed betweene the said Colledge and this hospitall." But it was not till 1689 that they took the question up seriously, when the Treasurer announced that he "had put a stop to the payment of £20," being the Lady Ramsey gift for the half-year, "for that he conceived the Master and fellows of the said colledge did not rightly performe the said gift as they ought to doo." He was therefore asked to inquire of Dr. Beaumont, the Master, "the names of the fellows and scholars enjoying

the Lady Ramsey's exhibitions," and to make sure as to "the circumstances of their Parents, whether they be knowne to be of the Lady Ramsey's ffoundation," that is, presumably, whether they were in need of assistance towards their sons' education. In the following year the difference between the College and the Hospital became more acute, and the Master and fellows, firm believers in arbitration, suggested a reference to two lawyers on each side. Six or eight months later Mr. Midgley, a prominent member of the Committee, had a personal interview with the Master of Peterhouse, who said that the Society "had comply'd with the said gift as much as in them lay." If the Hospital still refused payment of the £40 a year, "they must make a distress according to the said deed." Having, however, received an assurance from Mr. Midgley that he would get the money paid, the Master condescended to account for the paucity of Christ's Hospital boys among Dame Ramsey's scholars. "It was a rule in their House," he said, "none should be admitted under the quality of a Pensioner before the said gift was given them, but that if the Hospital would send one of their children and allow him what they doe at other Colledges, they hoped that with the said Lady's gift and otherwise, they might enable him to support a pensioner's charge." Counsel's opinion seems to have been against the Hospital, and the Treasurer was asked to "negotiate the affaire on the best termes he can." But it may be permitted to a Christ's Hospital boy, who was also a scholar of Peterhouse, to express the opinion that the College had no business to accept a trust for the benefit of poor students and at the same time to make such arrangements that it was impossible for a poor student to enter at the College. Most of the "Blues" went to the University as sizars. The pride of Peterhouse (it has long since been humbled) revolted at the very idea.

Fortunately, at the very time (1688 and the following years) when the Hospital was at loggerheads with Peterhouse, another benefactor of poor scholars came forward in the person of Mr. Serjeant Moses. He left his estate equally

between Christ's Hospital and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. The half devised to the school was to provide exhibitions of £10 a year for as many of its pupils as should be fit for the University, and the other moiety was to found scholarships at Pembroke to which "Blues" were to "be entitled before any other." The bequest is interesting as being an act of gratitude for mercies received at Christ's Hospital, "where he was not ashamed to own that he had his first Education and the groundwork laid of such future competences and comfortable circumstances as he had enjoyed and been in through the remaining course of his life." William Moses had been admitted to the School "from St. Sauiors in Southwarke," and proceeded to Pembroke Hall in 1639. He was elected by the fellows as their third Cromwellian Master in 1654, suffering the inevitable ejection in 1660. But, as a Serjeant-at-Law in large practice, this did not affect his good fortune to any great extent. And, besides its personal interest, his will was the beginning of a long and close connexion between Pembroke and the Hospital. From 1688 until the special privileges of the "Blues" at the College were abrogated, more than one hundred and thirty of them have gone to Pembroke, including Sir Henry Sumner Maine, Dr. Haig-Brown and the present Master of the College. Indeed from 1718 to 1788 it was quite the exception for our students to go anywhere else.

But the great point to notice is that the Governors considered themselves just as responsible for giving a boy a University education, if he wanted it, as for giving another the means of apprenticeship to a trade. Thus James Hewlett (1661) applied for this privilege, but there were no exhibitions vacant; so an arrangement was made "that for some small tyme hee should dyett with M^r Perkins the Gramer Schoole Maister," and he was to be provided with "a suite and cloake and other necessaries." The great Joshua Barnes (1671) went to Emmanuel College with "clothes, bookes, and bedding," besides an ample exhibition. In due time he won a fellowship, but still pleaded that

the Governors should continue his exhibition, as the fellowship "affords noe more than a necessary subsistence, unlesse he were capable of taking pupills, w^{ch} he is not by reason of his great infirmity of deafnesse." In fact, he continued till 1687, when he was an M.A. of eight years' standing, to receive gifts "for his encouragement."

It must be confessed that some of the young gentlemen made a poor return for this fatherly care. Take the case of George Cox, of Peterhouse, who thus makes his petition (1667) as "a distressed orphan." "Your petitioner hath been led aside by the instigation of companions and by the perverseness of his nature hath fell into severall misdemeanors, soe he hopes that as your proper vertue is clemency you will mercifully consider of him and his condicioun upon his promise of reformation." But the Governors had no faith in his "promise" and refused to help him any further. In another instance they saw reason to be lenient. "W^m Collins of Catherine Hall, Cambridge," had got into debt both there and in London to the amount of £13 5s. 6d. So two of the Governors were desired (September 1696) to go "to M^r Isaac Newton, the Math: Professor" and get his advice. "M^r Professor Newton was pleased to give an extraordinary character of [Collins'] proficiency in the study of the Mathematicks" and "advised that the said Collins should forthwith returne to the University."

The case that gave the Court most trouble, such as less generous folk would not have taken, was that of Benjamin Lee. He had been sent to Trinity College, Oxford, in 1692, where the first difficulty arose through the extravagance of his Tutor. The Treasurer heard to his horror that Lee and Billingsley, who went with him, had been provided with "such indecent apparell that it's a shame they should be seen in it, it being too Gay and fine for their station." On the receipt of this serious news the Committee entrusted the Treasurer with the task of providing "such a suite of clothes as he in his discretion shall think fit," desiring the extravagant tutor to "lay up and preserve those clothes he provided until futher order." After this the Court were hardly surprised

to learn that Lee had asked his tutor for "licence" to go home and "see his sick mother," and had neither gone to see her nor returned to Oxford. Then came tidings that he was "in custody in Wood Streete Compter" for debt, and, worse still, "was not yet truely sensible of his past follyes." So there he was allowed to stay from November 1693 to the following April, when his discharge was paid for out of his exhibition "on the best termes that can be," and he "gave sincere promises of Reformation and amendment of his past life." Any other institution would now have sent him about his business, but the Court still felt that they stood to him *in loco parentis*. He had made a poor show at Oxford. Why not let him have a fresh start at Cambridge, where perhaps they would waive the usual *bene discessit*? Treasurer Hawes, who wanted "to inquire into the behaviour of the other students there that went from this Hospital," offered to "see the said Lee settled" at Emmanuel College. Ten days later (May 18th, 1694) the poor Treasurer returned with worse tidings than ever. "On ffryday last he went to Cambridge to see Lee settled there — And on Sunday whilst he was there, the said Lee pict up some of the young students about 3 o'clock in the afternoone & went with them to an Alehouse, and when he came home to his lodgings, w^{ch} was about ten at night, was very drunk soe that the Colledge nor himselfe did not think fit to continue him at the University, having committed such an egregious fault at his first entrance." So the Treasurer "concluded to returne him to London." And still they ask what is to be done with him, "whether to have him sent to Bridewell or how else to dispose of him." Finally, they "thought fit (it being the desire of the said Lee) that he shall be disposed off to the sea employment, & be bound to Mr. Stone a mate of a ship for 5 yeares."

After such longsuffering as this, it is no wonder that the "Blues" at the Universities got into the way of appealing to the Governors on every conceivable occasion. In 1694 letters came from two of them at Trinity "who therein desires advice whether they had better take orders or not"!

William Collins, already mentioned, came to London on Isaac Newton's invitation in 1696 with a view to a clerkship at the Mint. But Newton failed him and gave the post to someone else; the visit to town ran Collins into debts, which were discharged out of the Exhibition Fund. Or, having got what advantage they could at Cambridge, they sometimes wanted to travel on the Continent. Mordecai Carey, of Trinity, afterwards Bishop of Clonfert, brought a letter to Mountfort from Dr. Bentley, dated "St James's Jan 30. 1708/9," in which the Great Master urges Carey's appeal for aid. "I am desired by M^r Carey," he said, "to recommend to you his request for permission to travel abroad this next year with M^r Jurin. I am intirely of that opinion that it's the best way that either of them can take for their improvement, and is the most promising step towards their rising in the world." On this high authority, the Governors granted the petitioner a year's exhibition. Not, of course, that they were equally complaisant in cases where the need was not so real. Jurin, of whom more later, and Kinnesman, who may perhaps be identified with the man appointed tutor to Bentley's grandson, Richard Cumberland,* applied "to have some money beyond their yearly allowance to buy bookes"; but they were reminded that, as they had Scholarships at Trinity and exhibitions from the Hospital, they had better "live within compass and provide themselves books out of their yearly incomb." Again, Markland, also in later years the friend of Bentley, one of the few "Blues" who squeezed a Ramsey scholarship out of the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, sent to the Court in 1714 asking for "an allowance of thirteen pounds twelve shillings and five pence for the Cure of his eyes," and was told that he might expect £10 if he furnished further details. But in 1717 he had to be shown that he must not abuse the Hospital's generosity. On June 27th he received £15 towards the cost of his M.A. degree and on July 12th wrote to say that he would be glad of "some allowance with regard to the charge he has been at in entring upon his fellowship"! But the

* See JEBB'S *Bentley*, ed. 1882, p. 201.

Committee would have none of this. "Finding no allowance of that kind ever yet made or desired," they refused outright, in order "to avoid a presedent of so ill consequence."

But if the Governors made themselves responsible for the books and the furniture and the doctors' bills of their *protégés* they were equally grateful at any success they achieved. James Jurin, scholar of Trinity, who afterwards came back to the near neighbourhood of the Hospital in his capacity of President of the Royal College of Physicians in Warwick Lane, was elected in 1708 to a Trinity fellowship, and the Governors in their delight could not refrain from writing to Bentley to thank him "for his kindness to our lads in general and more particularly for this remarkable favour." Bentley's answer must be given at length. He was just then at his prime, about forty-six years of age, and in the ninth year of his Mastership. Sir Richard Jebb has pointed out* that one of his earliest reforms was the introduction of written papers in the examination for fellowships and scholarships, so that merit might be better tested than it had been by the *vivâ voce* method. It is really with the success of this scheme that this letter deals. It runs as follows:—

'TRINITY COLL: *October 11, 1708.*

'SIR,—I am much obliged to the Governors and yourself for your kind acknowledgment of the justice done to the scholars of your House, when they come under my examination for our College Preferments. There is nothing of favour or partiality to them, which you ought to thank me for. Our statutes forbid all that and I take an oath every election to choose the most worthy without favour or affection. This evenness and impartiality I have hitherto by the Help of GOD observed, and by it have rais'd the Industry and Learning of our youth to a pitch unknown before. And in this method I resolve to continue; so that when you hear that any of your foundation have succeeded here, you may conclude they have behaved themselves very well; but if any of them miss, do not inferr that they are bad, but that we had others that were better. 'Tis now come to that pass in our college that many very worthy young men (considered in themselves) are yearly passed by here, being outdone by

* *Bentley*, ed. 1882, p. 99.

others that are better still. A Scholarship may be acquired here with competent learning; but a fellowship requires extraordinary merit to attain it. I must recommend therefore M^r Jurin to your favour as a youth of very great hopes. By my advice he designs to spend the next spring and summer in Holland, and I allow him a travelling fellowship for that time towards his support, which is the highest courtesy our House can show him. If your constitution can add anything to his further encouragement, I dare engage he'll make a right use of it; and, considering him now as mine, no less than yours, shall owe it as an obligation

'to Your very humble servant

'Rⁱ: BENTLEY.'

Such fatherly care, for which the great scholar's enemies in the college gave him little credit, naturally provoked the generosity of the Governors, who at once granted Jurin £20 and a year's exhibition. At the end of his tour, the young man was appointed at the suggestion of Trinity College to the Mastership of the Grammar School, Newcastle-on-Tyne; in the following year he turned his attention to medicine and died President of the College of Physicians. But, in the case of most of their exhibitioners, the Governors did not so easily get rid of their self-imposed responsibility. Scholars, then as now, were by no means assured of a livelihood and two ways of assisting them were open. They could be appointed to the staff of the Hospital as vacancies occurred. This habit seems to have begun early in the seventeenth century. Thus John Vicars, who went from the Hospital to Queen's College, Oxford, about 1600 (the exact date is not to be found in the books), returned later as Usher, and only ceased from violent language against "Kings, bishops, organs, or maypoles," when he was safely buried in Christ Church. In the eighteenth century every Under Grammar Master from Samuel Billingsley to Lancelot Pepys Stephens had been a Grecian and exhibitioner, and five out of the seven Upper Grammar Masters. The staff was considerably enlarged early in the nineteenth century, and during that period some forty former exhibitioners have come back to serve it as assistant-masters, while among the six Head



THE PORTER'S LODGE, EAST SIDE
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY THE REV. D. F. HEYWOOD

Masters of the century (A. W. Trollope, John Greenwood, Edward Rice, G. A. Jacob, G. C. Bell, and Richard Lee) Dr. Jacob alone was a stranger to the Foundation.

But schoolmastering was not considered by the Governors to be an altogether adequate provision for their scholar "children." Even in 1719, the best post they could offer, that of Upper Grammar Master, carried with it a stipend of only £120, and their funds allowed little in the way of pensions. Matthew Audley, the ex-Grecian who was appointed at this salary, succeeded Mountfort, and the latter had stayed at his post when "by reason of age and infirmity" he had long been "rendered incapable of discharging his trust" (Com^{ee} Book, September 25th, 1719). Some members of the Committee were therefore sent to ask him to resign and "found him very ill abed." The old man "readily complied" with their suggestion, hoping to receive "accompetent allowance," but he died within a week. In the ordinary way, however, it was the custom to pass on both the upper and under masters to the various livings in the Hospital's gift, and this, it should be noticed, did not imply that the Governors took a mean advantage of their position as patrons. Christ's Hospital scholars have had two outstanding benefactors, Lady Ramsey and Serjeant Moses, and six of the advowsons thus used were due to these two, though there is no definite injunction in either case that "Blues" must be nominated. The Governors simply made up their minds to assign them as a provision for their pupils. For instance, the vicarage of Ugley, near Bishop's Stortford, became theirs in 1599. It was offered to one "Blue" in 1606 (no doubt at the first avoidance) and to another in 1610, and has mostly been held by "Blues" ever since. It generally served as the first step in the ladder of promotion, the top rung being represented by Gainscolne (or Colne Engaine). No doubt the Governors' preference for school candidates produced a certain proneness to holy orders. Take John Parker's petition of 1675. "Your petitioner," he says, "being come to Towne upon some businesse of his owne, was certified of the death of D^r Cornelius, the late incumbent of your benefice of Clavering.

Upon this your petitioner thought that a doore was opened to him by divine providence to enter into the Ministrey (which he had long desired) and a very promising opportunity offered him of bettering his condition." He brought testimonials from Cudworth, Benjamin Whichcote, and Beaumont, the Master of Peterhouse, and he obtained his desire. But he was no self-seeker, for, when the Governors offered him the "plum" of their patronage, he "humbly returned this answer, that he was very well contented with his present condicon." It was not always easy for them to abide by their rule to choose "Blues," for they often had to contend against influence in high places. The Duke of Buckingham, the favourite of the early Stuarts, sent a divine with a letter in 1626, on the supposition that the then incumbent of Gainscolne was "very aged and weake of body" and "not likely to continue long with life." He would be glad if they would promise it to his nominee. But, with all "due and weighty consideracon taken of the earnest desires and requests" of the "noble peer," they replied that they intended to present to the living "a man much comended and well aprou'd in the place where hee serveth (Ugley), who was brought vp in this house, and maintain'd at the Vniversitie with one of the Exhibicons of the said Ladyes (Ramsey's) guift."

Still there were certain occasions on which they went outside their own constituency to choose a clergyman. In 1667 they appointed to Gainscolne a certain "M^r Clement Sankey, rector of S. Clement Eastcheap." The Essex parish was then described as being "somewhat more troubled with Nonconformists then other parishes, and therefore it would be much to the honnour of this house to send an able person both for piety and learning." Perhaps if they had asked their friend "Esq: Pepys" they would have chosen differently, for according to the *Diary*,* "Mr. Sankey of Magdalen" was a favourite fellow-tippler of the Secretary to "My Lords" both at "the Rose" in Cambridge and at "the Fleece in Covent Garden." As a matter of fact Sankey

* See *Diary*, July 15th, August 3rd, November 24th, 1661; April 2nd, 1662.

utterly neglected his country parish. He was appointed to it in January 1667, and Pepys ran across him in town on April 5th. "In the street met with M^r Sankey, my old acquaintance at Cambridge, reckoned a great minister here in the City, and by Sir Richard Ford particularly, which I wonder at; for, methinks, he is but a mean man." On the whole, it is no wonder that he received the thanks of the Court for resigning Gainscolne in 1678. On another occasion the election of an outsider was directly due to the "frugal mind" of the Court. There were three candidates for the vicarage of Ugley in 1721, of whom only one was a "Blue," and he in the natural course would have been successful. But the Governors were in a predicament which the following Minute will explain. The "Blue" was interviewed first, and "he, with a becoming modesty expressed himself in these and like words: viz^t, Gentelmen, I came to town with a great desire to obtain the viccaridge of Ugley, and should, if it had pleased your Worp^s to bestow it on me, thankfully have received the favour, But since here is a clergyman who is recomended by a person who hath already been a great Benefactor to this ffoundacon, and who it is likely will be a greater Benefactor to it, if you desire it, Gentelmen, I am willing to decline, as preferring the good of this ffoundacon to my private interest. But I humbly hope that when anything hereafter happens in your Worp^s gift you will consider me." The reason for their being so "extreamly pleased" at M^r Hancock's "modesty" is explained by the fact that the Rev. Ferdinand Smythies, fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, the benefactor in question, had "already given in present and at his death Four thousand pounds or thereabouts to this Charity, and that much more is expected from him." Hancock received a present of ten guineas on the spot and the rectory of Wormshill later in the year.

The account of the funeral on November 18th, 1725, of this benevolent old don is not quite germane to the matter before us, yet it is worth giving, almost as it stands, from the minutes of a Court held on February 16th, in the year following :—

disposed of. That, at any rate, was already remedied before the new Scheme came into operation.

But this gradual and voluntary putting of wrongs to right can be seen equally clearly in a matter which has not appeared so frequently upon these pages, namely, the medical attention paid to the children of the School. For nearly thirty years they have been under the watchful care of a resident physician, whose unceasing skill and vigilance they appreciate little till they see it in retrospect. But it is necessary to fall back into the eighteenth century to estimate the way by which they have been led to their comparative immunity from disease, let alone fatal disease. In 1737 and the following years the medical treatment of the children was placed in the hands of Sir Hans Sloane and other doctors, in order that its obvious deficiencies might be remedied. In the first place it was needful to prevent the entry into the rough life of the place of children physically unfit to stand it. There was, of course, a medical examination preliminary to admission, but this was no bar to the entrance of weaklings, who were without difficulty "changed" for stronger children whom the doctor had passed. So a Committee of 1739 gave orders that the Surgeon and the Apothecary should "not only signe a Note of such Examination but tye a string about their Necks with a Seal of Wax affixed at the End thereof, which the children are to wear till they are taken into this Hospital or sent into the Country." True, this was not to be a permanent expedient, but it will serve to mark a difference between then and now. Again, whether they needed it or not, the children were then under an Apothecary who was determined to show a large expenditure on medicine. His account from Michaelmas to Christmas, 1740, was £330, and "on those days between the Physicians usual days of visiting the sick wards [he] has taken upon him the ordering and directing all sorts of medicines to as many of the children as he thought fit." Once more, when sickness did come, the Hospital's state of unpreparedness to meet it can best be stated in terms of two of the

up the good benefactor's affairs, the chief trouble being that, like some other benefactors, his charity had not begun at home, for his rectory house at Eversden was terribly dilapidated. They had his furniture valued and disposed of. But "the books of M^r Smythies being not many or as we apprehend very valluable findeing no catalogue nor not haveing time to make one Wee brought them up to Town for proper inspection of persons acquainted therewith and the rather for that, for want of knowing the reall Vallue, we apprehended ourselves the more lyable to imposition there." And on their return to London the will and codicil were proved "in comon form."

One other point must be put on record in justice to the worthy citizens who administered the Hospital's patronage. From very early days they made a dead set against pluralism and non-residence. In 1640 there is a black mark placed against the name of Dr. Watts, vicar of Clavering. He "doth not reside but giveth a poore Minister to performe that office and letteth the Vicaridge house to growe to decay and a parte thereof already fallen and more like to fall very shortly to the ground." When Dr. Cornelius of the same parish died in 1675, they expressed their sense of his shortcomings without scruple. He "had no waies performed his promise made to the Court att his Election but had taken other spirituall promotion and neglected his duty to the parish." They felt not only the loss entailed on their property through his neglect, but considered that it "very much reflected upon the honour of this House, haveing noe waies oblidged him under hand and seale to the contrary." Therefore, henceforward they made every presentee give a bond to be resident; and when they found in 1720 that Edmond Massey, rector of Gainscolne, "has taken a house and wholly lives in town," they promptly summoned him to "shew cause why his bond should not be put in suite against him." The Governors in their zeal certainly appear in a better light than "M^r Archdeacon of Essex," who is mentioned as "attending on his behalf." Alas! in this, as in many other matters, there was a great falling off during the eighteenth century and

the early part of the nineteenth. Grammar Masters were appointed to benefices and allowed to retain their place on the staff, visiting their cures, if it suited them, during the summer holidays. Peter Whalley and Dr. Rice were both vicars of Horley as well as Upper Grammer Masters. James Boyer during the greater part of his reign held, first, the vicarage of Enford, Wilts, and then that of Colne Engaine, the richest in the Hospital's gift.

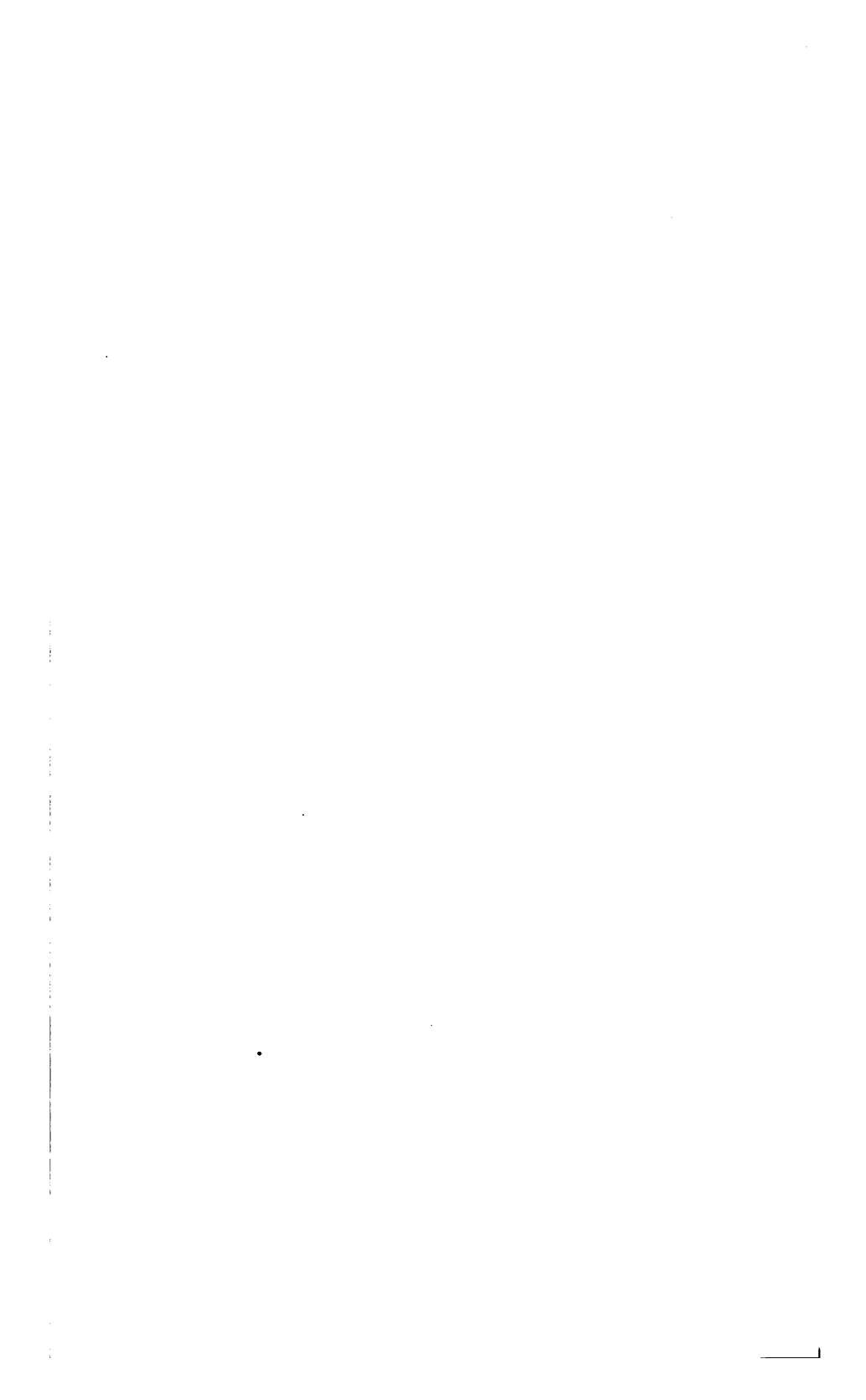
But it would not be fair to confine this chapter to the after life of Exhibitioners. The careers of the rest claim a word, for the rest were always the backbone of the School. The "Mathemats" were well provided for in ways which are elsewhere explained. What of the ordinary Writing School boy who left at about fifteen years of age? Him too, as well as the youths at the Universities, the Governors looked after as long as they could. They apprenticed him to a trade; they worried his master if the boy was not properly treated; they summoned the boy to their presence if his conduct was complained of. And it is a grievous pity that to-day, by the falling away of the apprenticeship system, they have twice as much money ear-marked for this purpose as they can dispose of in any given year. Sir Martin Bowes would turn in his grave if he knew it, for it was in his day (December 1556) that it was "agreed that the wardens of all the companies within this citie shulde be sent for and by them a request be made to their companies that so manye as wanted anye apprentices that they wolde take of the biggest sorte of children kept by the charitie of the citizens which are not geuen (given) to their learnynge." It is needless to add that many of these supposed dullards who were apprenticed to City merchants brought fame and benefactions to their old school in after life.

Again, the expansion of England gave our lads a chance of a useful existence beyond the seas. As early as 1640 it was clearly necessary to put a check on the spirit of adventure showing itself within the walls, for it was then resolved "that there shal bee noe children sent to new England out of this house but such as their parents shall

give consent for and discharge the house of them before their Transporta^{on}." The great trading companies had a special liking for our boys. The "Guyney Company" expressed "a desire to take 3 of the children" in 1677 "to place in their ffactory." Readers of a recently published history of the Hudson's Bay Company, of which the present treasurer, Mr. Alderman Walter Vaughan Morgan, is, most appropriately, a director, will remember that David Thompson, the Company's famous surveyor and astronomer at the close of the eighteenth century, entered its service from Christ's Hospital. In 1698 a letter was read to the Governors from "Stephen Gwyn and Richard Grice the two Mathematicall boyes that were lately sent into the Czar of Muscovy's service, giving an acco^t of their safe arrivall at Archangell and of their being mightily well used there by M^r Woolfe." Again in 1721 came "the African Company" with a similar request. They were willing "to bind such [children] as they shall take apprentices to the Company for five years, whom they will send out to their settlements in Affrica where they shall be furnished with Cloths and Dyett during their Apprenticeship, and when they are out of their time to be preferred according to their Merits." To this also the Governors saw no objection, provided that the boys and their parents were willing. But the chief source of foreign service for our boys came from the East India Company, who were long the Hospital's "tenants at a very low rate" (Committee Book, October 3rd, 1690), at Leadenhall. The first mention I have found occurs in 1668, when the Company received the thanks of the Governors for having been "pleased to take off from the charge of this hospitall eight children to be employed in their affaires beyonnd the seas, and had att great charges clothed and provided necessities for the sd children's voyage." Nine years later it appears that there was a hitch somewhere. The Company wanted "half a score children to be placed in their factory" (August 7th, 1677), and the Writing Master was accordingly "desired to take all possible care for the improvement of the said children in their writeing and Cyphering." In a few days

Mr. Treasurer waited on the Board of Directors to say that "neare half a score" were ready. But the Company had meanwhile changed its mind, "it haveing proved somewhat inconvenient," but "did desire to be excused from acquainting them with the manner thereof." At the same time the Board offered to take six boys to go as clerks with ships' captains and learn navigation. So began the connexion between the "Mathemat" and the Indian Navy, to the great advantage of both. Once more, in 1695, the Company applied for boys "to serve [it] as writers for the terme of 7 years, four of them to be sent to Persia, and two of them to Surratt, and the rest to Fort St. George, and that the President and Council have orders that at the expiration of that terme in case they behave themselves well in the Company's service That they be admitted to the Degree of Factors without giving any security besides their owne Bonds." Whereupon it was announced to the Company that "there hath been 21 children pitcht upon" as being "accomplisht with Writing and Arithmetick." There would have been more, the Governors added, but that "it is not consistent with the Lawes of England to send any boyes out of the land" without their own and their parents' consent.

Enough has been said to show that the Hospital has always been anxious to do the best for its sons at home or abroad, whether they were "pregnant and apt to learninge" or whether their bent was for commerce. To-day, as of old, they are to be found in every corner of the world, with the love of the Religious, Royal, and Ancient Foundation fixed deep in their hearts.





THE COURT ROOM

CHAPTER XVI.

REFORM

"What harm, then, if in the heart of this noble city there should be left one receptacle, where parents of rather more liberal views, but whose time-straitened circumstances do not admit of affording their children that better sort of education which they themselves, not without cost to their parents, have received, may without cost send their sons?"—CHARLES LAMB.

IT will have been gathered from references in the foregoing chapters that Christ's Hospital has not been altogether as other schools in respect of the machinery by which it was administered; but it will be well to devote a word or two to saying what the machinery was, and to what extent it has been altered. Dealing for the moment merely with the Constitution as it existed prior to the Scheme of 1891, we observe that the pivot of the whole system is the "Governor," and we can take as a view-point in the middle of the school's career the year 1717, when the managing Committee drew the attention of the Court to "the great Increase of late of Governors for this House whereby the Number far exceeds what hath been heretofore usuall or accustomed." The Court at once acknowledged the seriousness of the situation by a decree, dated July 2nd, 1717, "that no person or persons shall be nominated for a Governor of this House untill after Midsummer next." The elucidation of this text involves the whole history of the management of the Hospital, too long to give here, except in a very brief review; the reader will find an exhaustive record in the report of the Charity Commissioners of 1837.

It was recorded at the outset that Edward VI. vested the Hospital, along with the other similar foundations, in

the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of London, a large body, bound to delegate its powers to a smaller one, if the management was to be effective. This led to the scheme embodied in "the Ordinances and Rules for the Governors of the Hospitalls in the Citie of London," printed in 1557, and probably by that time already in operation. In this "Order" the Corporation arranged that sixty-six of its number should be allocated to the management of these Hospitals, of whom fourteen were to be aldermen, and of the latter six were to be "graye clokes" (who had passed the chair), and eight "callabre." Of the fifty-two commoners it was ordered that four "be scriveners at the leaste." Two "graye clokes" were given the offices of comptroller-general and surveyor-general to the four Hospitals together, and the remaining twelve aldermen were distributed, three to each Hospital, so that each institution had a "graye cloke" as president, with thirteen commoners, of whom one was to be Treasurer, and, apparently, one must be able to write. The "Order" added certain regulations for filling vacancies, in case any of the Governors "do dye within the year (as GOD defend)." They were to serve for two years, and elections were to take place on St. Matthew's Day at a "general court."

With certain slight exceptions this system prevailed till 1564, "Governors" being nominated without regard to any contributions made by them to the funds of the Hospital. During the century that followed up to 1666 there was a quiet but gradual alteration of the process of electing and maintaining the governing body. General Courts ceased to be held for this express purpose, though the St. Matthew's Day ceremony of handing over lists of all the Governors of the various Hospitals to the Lord Mayor for safe keeping among the civic archives remains to this day. But they did not keep with anything like regularity to the numbers laid down in the "Order" of 1557, and proposals for filling vacancies or appointing additional Governors were made as opportunity arose. It is merely recorded on the minutes of the ordinary court-meetings that such and such gentlemen received their charge or had "green staves" sent to them.

In 1666 the several Treasurers met and agreed that henceforward each Hospital should choose its own Governors, and, though aldermen and common councilmen still preponderated, it became the custom to elect gentlemen and send them the green staff of office out of regard to their personal fitness for the work. In this way Flamsteed, the astronomer-royal, Samuel Pepys, Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Jonas Moore, Surveyor-General of Ordnance, and other prominent persons became members of the Court and were selected by the Court to serve on committees; indeed, after a while the committees began to choose the Governors on behalf of the Court, to which the names were formally submitted. But in 1699 the Corporation of the City woke up to the fact that the management of Christ's Hospital was slipping out of their hands, and therefore directed the Town Clerk to write to the Governors' a letter of protest. It stated that, instead of the Governors' names being submitted to the Corporation for approval, "a liberty appears to have been for many years exercised of persons being (without distinction) elected, admitted to, and continued in that office, in the name indeed, but wholly without the privity, much less confirmation, of the said court, not only to the raising the number of the said persons to a degree greatly exceeding what either the said ancient constitution, or the present service of the hospital requires, but to the exposing the same to the worst of consequences attending the remissness, improvidence, and tumultuousness of management, by which the said hospital has been reduced to the state of indigence, debt and disorder under which it at this day languishes." A sentence of such portentous length is a not uncommon accompaniment of a weak case. Any change that had come over the government of the Hospital had done so under the very eyes of the Corporation. A committee hardly ever met, much less a Court, at which an Alderman and some commoners were not present. Besides it is clear from the records that the Corporation very frequently interfered in the affairs of the Royal Hospitals. It sealed their documents; it refused or accepted their Governors; it scrutinised their finances; it summoned whom

it would to attend before it. No one thought of resisting its will till the year in which the letter just quoted was written, when the Governors of Christ's Hospital first accepted but afterwards declined a vice-president, whom the Court of Aldermen had appointed owing to the infirmity of the then President, who was a member of their own body, Sir John Moore, the generous builder of the Writing School.

Further, the Royal Hospitals could make the obvious answer that the acceptance by the City of the Governors' lists each St. Matthew's Day was tantamount to an expression of the City's assent to the names there mentioned. Anyhow, after a dispute lasting over many months, the Court of Aldermen came to the conclusion that each Hospital might elect its own Governors, subject to the usual presentation of the lists each St. Matthew's Day; and so matters remained till 1778, when the civic authorities once more began to agitate. They appointed a special committee; they refused the seal to any lease or document not examined by that committee; when Christ's Hospital sent in its nomination of a clergyman to the benefice of Enford to be sealed, they refused the nomination and tried to appoint a nominee of their own. So the Presidents and the Treasurers of the Royal Hospitals had to take counsel together, and the result was a petition to the Lord Chancellor as visitor. It set forth that the increase of their governing bodies by the nomination of "noblemen & gentlemen & others residing elsewhere [*i.e.* outside the City], of character and ability, and likely to become benefactors, was exceedingly advantageous"; that there were then 230 leases of property duly drawn out and waiting to be sealed at the Guildhall; and that the Court of Common Council was unfitted to replace the administration of the Hospital by Life-Governors because it was "so numerous and fluctuating a body that if they should be Governors the greatest inconvenience would ensue."

So we come to the Act of Parliament (22 Geo. iii. 1782, cap. 77) which embodied certain articles of agreement arrived at between the City and the Governors of the Royal Hospitals. In this there were four provisions: (1) for the presentation

of the lists to the Lord Mayor every September 21st, as heretofore; (2) that for any purposes of litigation at law or in equity, etc., the governing body of each hospital, while bearing the costs of its own actions, might assume the title of "the mayor and commonalty as governors" of each hospital; (3) that the seal of the hospitals should be kept at the office of the City Chamberlain as heretofore, where documents should be sealed; (4) that the Court of Common Council should yearly select, at the first meeting after St. Thomas's Day, forty-eight of its members as Governors of the Royal Hospitals, assigning twelve to each.

If it may be permitted to a citizen living under the protection of the Corporation to criticise its action, my own impression is that the City had rather forgotten what it was that gave it its original privileges. The early history of Christ's Hospital, like that of the Grey Friars, is a record of the "*devotio civium*." The citizens were generous donors to the funds, and only received their due share of authority. But in the eighteenth century all that was forgotten. True, it is not clear that many of the then existing Governors, to whose numbers the Corporation objected, were also benefactors. But during the eighteenth century there had been many instances of the nomination as Governors of donors of £200, £500, and other sums. The Commissioners of 1837 were perfectly justified in their mild insinuation, that in the City's choice of its forty-eight *ex officio* representatives on these governing bodies "no indication has been given of any desire to consult the advantage of the institutions at any personal sacrifice." Nor is it beside the point to add that at the present moment only two of the Aldermen and none of the Common Council Governors have given qualifying donations. They are content with their *ex officio* position on the governing body.

Indeed, nothing is stranger than the attack which has been made on the Donation Governor system by the various commissions of inquiry from 1837 onwards. The latter gentlemen were appalled to think that on the governing body there were then 313 "individuals who have attained

the station they occupy, simply by their ability to spare £400." Assuming the Commissioners' knowledge that in each case the money could be "spared," one wonders that it did not occur to them that gentlemen with that ability, and still less gentlemen ready to exercise it, are not to be found at the corner of every street; nor that their parental interest in the children they nominated was in itself a good start in life for an otherwise friendless boy. What they resented was that between 1800 and 1837, when they completed their report, no less than 466 gentlemen qualified themselves for election in this way, and that many of them had lived long enough to receive more than "their money's worth" in the way of presentations of children to enjoy the benefits of the foundation, as though their donation was prompted by the notion that they had discovered a "soft thing" in investments. The fact that as a body they were too large to form an effective administration was easily met by the selection from among them of the Council of Almoners, and, when the whole body had at times to decide on questions of school-government, it is clear that its decision was guided, if not by exact knowledge, at any rate by interest in the well-being of the *protégés* whom each Governor had placed in the school.

The whole question would not be worth arguing, if fifty years later the views of the 1837-8 investigators had not been taken up and pushed to a baleful conclusion by the Charity Commissioners in the Scheme which they promulgated in 1885 and put into execution in 1891. That Scheme was purely and simply an attack, not on the teaching, which has altered little, nor on the staff, which has changed even less, nor on the diet, which has passed through a normal development, but on the Donation Governor. It attacked him in two vital particulars, which may be briefly dealt with separately. First, he had been up to that time the pivot of the administration. His donation of £500 (for that is the amount which had long taken the place of the £400 before referred to) had entitled him to a seat on the Court, and the Court selected the Council of Almoners. Against

this Council no charges of maladministration were made. They were not by profession educational experts committed to educational doctrines, which may be more briefly expressed as "fads." But they had a lively interest in the school, prompted in some cases by gratitude for mercies received, and in most cases by the possibility of mercies which they could themselves confer. The new scheme disposed of their active interest with a stroke of the pen by its provision for the future election of the Council of Almoners. Henceforth this body consists of forty-three members, of whom two, the President and the Lord Mayor for the time being, are members *ex officio*, and the rest are nominated on the following system: twenty by the "old" Governors (unless the "old" Governors fall below two hundred in number, when their representation will be only at the rate of one for every ten); six by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City; six by the London School Board; one by the Education Office; one by the Admiralty; two each by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London; and one by the Royal Society. It would be absurd as well as ungracious to say a word against the fitness of the gentlemen who represent these various bodies; their names carry their own commendation with them. But inasmuch as they neither "present" children, nor nominate them for entrance into the competitive examinations, they unquestionably lack that direct interest in the wellbeing of their young charges which is felt by all Donation Governors. At the same time the Donation Governors, if they maintain their numbers, are always liable to be outvoted on the Council; and, if they do not maintain their present numbers, their influence can only get smaller and smaller.

Nor is it easy to exonerate the Charity Commissioners from a deliberate attempt, by their scheme as it at first prevailed, to crush the Donation Governor out of existence altogether; which brings us to the second point in which they attacked him. He had not only been the pivot of administration, but also the channel by which entrance to the benefits of the Foundation was generally to be obtained. Their method of securing this was threefold, and equally

effective in each case : (i.) they reduced his rights of presentation to a minimum ; (ii.) they introduced a system of entrance by competition among pupils of primary and secondary schools, so that the sharpest children take the place by force, and the weak ones, who most need its help, go to the wall ; (iii.) they ordained that the parents or guardians might, if the Council of Almoners think fit, (which they generally do), be called upon to pay a sum varying from £10 to £20 a year for a child's education. The last two have effectually changed Christ's Hospital from an ancient and honourable charity, and "a passing dede of pittie," into a semi-commercial institution, to which a boy claims entrance by his wits and in which he remains by virtue of a payment, which is nevertheless too small to deserve the name. Therefore, though in 1896 the Charity Commissioners saw the error of their ways and restored to the Donation Governor a modicum of his former rights of presentation, they cannot be surprised, they may even be secretly contented, that the elimination of any charitable basis from the present constitution has effectually reduced the ancient flood of "donations" to a hardly perceptible trickle.

So much for "reform" as it has affected the Governing Body. Public attention has been more directed to the question of the proper site for the Hospital. Is it or is it not a good thing to leave it where it is? The matter apparently did not lie within the reference of the Commissioners of 1837, but it was considered by the inquiry of 1863, when Mr. Hare was bidden to see "whether any or what improvements might be made in the management." Mr. Hare, however, was soon elbowed out by the "Schools Inquiry Commissioners" of 1864, a body whose names carry the greatest possible weight, and of which the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Temple) is the only surviving member. Their official investigator, Mr. Fearon, visited the Hospital in the early months of 1866 and made a masterly report of what he saw, though his suggestions for the future use of the foundation were somewhat wild and romantic. But his masters, the Commissioners, took little notice of Mr. Fearon's

schemes. They recommended that the School at Hertford should be given up, and the money used to found day-schools in London; but they were also of opinion that Christ's Hospital, London, should "be retained on its present site." Still nothing was done as the result either of this or the subsequent Endowed Schools Commission, except that everyone connected with the Hospital felt a growing sense of helplessness and insecurity.

At last came the definite provision of the Charity Commissioners in their scheme of 1891 for the abandonment of the Newgate Street site, in which they were no doubt influenced by the verdict of a special Royal Commission to inquire into the affairs of the Hospital at a time of exceptional trouble in 1877. These latter, who included Dean Liddell, Mr. W. E. Forster, and Mr. John Walter of *The Times*, gave it as their opinion that "for a thorough reform in the management and discipline of Christ's Hospital" its "removal from London is indispensable." Whether Sir Henry Longley and his colleagues were influenced by this verdict or not, the 63rd clause of their scheme ordained that the Hospital Schools (by which they mean a boarding school for boys and a boarding school for girls) "shall be maintained within a convenient distance from the City of London"; and the result has been the selection in 1892 of a site in Sussex, whose postal address will be "West Horsham." Its suitability or otherwise is not before us here, but is "on the knees of the gods"; it must suffice to say that those who know most about it have the greatest confidence in it. What is before us is the wisdom or unwisdom of removal at all.

This policy of removal can be defended on various grounds. There is the valuable nature of the present site, though, when it is at last sold, it is doubtful whether much of the price obtained will survive after the purchase of a new site, the maintenance of it for seven or eight years, the erection on it of large buildings, and the promotion of a bill in Parliament to facilitate the sale of the old site. Again, there is the question of health. It is probable that a country life will improve the physique and stamina of the "Blues"; it can

hardly give them greater immunity from epidemics than the comparative freedom they have long had at Newgate Street, while the decision to take the junior school to West Horsham only increases the probability of trouble in this direction. They will have advantages in the matter of games, such as Newgate Street can never give them, in spite of the generous action of the present Treasurer in providing a suburban ground. They will find in the coming régime of house-masters a system infinitely preferable to the ward-life, which, under the best of Wardens and the most efficient of matrons, could never be worthy of a public school. There will also be at Horsham an end to the unsettling influence of half-holidays and leave-days, when the great majority of the boys have turned out twice a week to visit their friends, and a term at Horsham will mean thirteen weeks of concentration and devotion to the united interests of one large community. But, looking a little further ahead, and admitting certain considerations to which Charity Commissioners are strangers, those who are better acquainted with the needs of "Blues" will see one matter in which the majority of them are bound to be losers. That majority looks for its future to employment in the City. Merchants and commercial concerns of all sorts have long made a practice of sending round to Newgate Street when there is a vacancy on their staff, and at most times the demand for "Blues" is greater than the supply of boys ready to leave. But these employers cannot be expected to send, under similar circumstances, to Horsham, and if the great majority are thus condemned to lose the many chances of a good start in life which they have hitherto enjoyed, no economic, educational, or sanitary advantages can compensate Christ's Hospital for its enforced departure from its ancient abode.

But, putting on one side the rather fatal changes in the site of the school and in the status of the Governor, and passing by those "castles in Spain," the day-schools for boys and girls, of which the 1891 scheme speaks, "Blues" acknowledge one or two particulars in which that scheme has proved better than their fears. The competition system has not



THE TREASURER'S HOUSE AND GARDEN

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH LENT BY THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

meant the influx of an undesirable or unpleasant element into the *personnel* of the School. The new-comers have received their training and formed their habits amid other surroundings; but this has not prevented their adapting themselves to the often strange ways of Christ's Hospital and imbibing some of its spirit. Oddly enough, though they have entered through the gateway of a stiff competition, they have not up to the present shown themselves to be much more doughty combatants in the scholarship tourney than those who were "presented" in the old days on the merits of their particular case. It may be added that the competition system has made it clear again and again that the opportunity offered to a sharp Board-School boy at Christ's Hospital is not such as his parents care to grasp. The sharp boy of thirteen or fourteen is a potential breadwinner, and there have been scores of cases in which the hope of a University education does not weigh much against the present worth of seven-and-sixpence a week.

Again, in its regulations for the status and functions of the Head Master, the scheme has undoubtedly worked a beneficent if silent revolution. It has been shown in preceding chapters that the annals of Christ's Hospital cannot be arranged in periods christened with the names of successive Head Masters. If any office would answer such a purpose, it is that of the Treasurer, but his functions went far beyond the mere direction of school routine. The smallest details were in the hands of the committees or the Council of Almoners, bodies which will not serve for chapter-headings, as they never died. It has also been hinted that the last half-century has witnessed the gradual evolution of the Head Master, quite independently of the Charity Commissioners. What the impetuosity of Dr. Jacob began, the natural aptitude of the present Master of Marlborough developed, and the cool judgment and long experience of the Rev. Richard Lee has continued. But the Scheme legalised his authority beyond a doubt. Clause 76 says that the "Council of Almoners shall prescribe the general subjects of instruction," their "relative prominence and value," and

the arrangements for terms and holidays. They are to make their proper arrangements for salaries and for "otherwise furthering the current objects and the efficiency" of the School. But in the last matter they are to give the Head Master every opportunity to express his views, and he may present his own proposals "for making or altering regulations concerning any matter within the province of the Council of Almoners" (Clause 77). Under these conditions the Head Master has under his absolute control "the choice of books, the method of teaching, the arrangement of classes and school hours, and generally the whole internal organisation, management, and discipline." Thus in the ordinary acceptation of the words Mr. Lee is the first Head Master of Christ's Hospital. It will be for some future historian of the House to chronicle the results of this beginning as they will appear in the transplanted foundation. It says much for him and his predecessor and much for the last two Treasurers, Mr. J. D. Allcroft and Mr. Alderman Walter Vaughan Morgan, that the difficulties of the Head Master's position up to 1891 have always been more apparent to him than to the school at large or even to his colleagues on the staff. Anyhow, Christ's Hospital has turned its back for good on the state of things described by the 1837 Commissioners, who found that "all the masters, as well classical as mathematical, consider themselves at liberty to introduce for the use of their classes such books as they deem best fitted for their purpose."

One practical result, of considerable importance to the after life of "Blues," is already in a fair way of accomplishment. Christ's Hospital is blessed with a good Exhibition Fund, the accumulated gifts of many generations of benefactors from Lady Ramsey onwards. But it has been the unvarying custom that only the boys should benefit by it, and only those boys who win scholarships or exhibitions at an Oxford or a Cambridge college. The Fund will shortly be enlarged by the falling in of leases, and arrangements are being made to expand its usefulness. There is no reason why the girls should be deprived of its benefits; still

less need it be restricted to those who are proceeding to the Universities. Indeed, as the Universities are to most of our exhibitioners merely an avenue to the scholastic profession, which is considerably overcrowded already, it is well to encourage "Blues" to enter on other careers and to help them by an exhibition to bear part of the initial expense. A beginning has been made in the case of a Grecian who recently won a Woolwich cadetship from the School. He was awarded a Hospital exhibition, which he held at Woolwich. It is a precedent which will go far, and it is the outcome of the liberty granted by the Scheme to the Head Master to make proposals to the Council of Almoners.

Such, then, is the record of the sundry parts and the varied functions of this ancient Foundation. Such has been its appearance in the life of London and its work in the nurture of sons and daughters. If any not belonging to the little world of Christ's Hospital should be at the pains to read the story, they will not wonder that to an ordinary and representative "Blue" there is something sacrosanct about the time-honoured House in Newgate Street, or that, when he says his

μὴ κίνῃς Καμάριον,

he speaks from a sense of the good that the School has done and still might do where it is, and constituted as it was till ten years ago. It is no part of my purpose to appeal to a fanatical conservatism, such as many "Old Blues" maintain in regard to the monstrous iniquity of the profane hands that have been laid on the place and its genius. These pages have, I hope, been sufficiently honest to show that in the past there have been eccentricities of management and abuses that were almost normal. The oft-mentioned matter of the powerlessness of the chief educational authority is one such case, and it seems hard to believe that the Rev. G. C. Bell was the first Head Master who, when he visited a colleague's classroom, ran no danger of being bowed out or even less ceremoniously

disposed of. That, at any rate, was already remedied before the new Scheme came into operation.

But this gradual and voluntary putting of wrongs to right can be seen equally clearly in a matter which has not appeared so frequently upon these pages, namely, the medical attention paid to the children of the School. For nearly thirty years they have been under the watchful care of a resident physician, whose unceasing skill and vigilance they appreciate little till they see it in retrospect. But it is necessary to fall back into the eighteenth century to estimate the way by which they have been led to their comparative immunity from disease, let alone fatal disease. In 1737 and the following years the medical treatment of the children was placed in the hands of Sir Hans Sloane and other doctors, in order that its obvious deficiencies might be remedied. In the first place it was needful to prevent the entry into the rough life of the place of children physically unfit to stand it. There was, of course, a medical examination preliminary to admission, but this was no bar to the entrance of weaklings, who were without difficulty "changed" for stronger children whom the doctor had passed. So a Committee of 1739 gave orders that the Surgeon and the Apothecary should "not only signe a Note of such Examination but tye a string about their Necks with a Seal of Wax affixed at the End thereof, which the children are to wear till they are taken into this Hospital or sent into the Country." True, this was not to be a permanent expedient, but it will serve to mark a difference between then and now. Again, whether they needed it or not, the children were then under an Apothecary who was determined to show a large expenditure on medicine. His account from Michaelmas to Christmas, 1740, was £330, and "on those days between the Physicians usual days of visiting the sick wards [he] has taken upon him the ordering and directing all sorts of medicines to as many of the children as he thought fit." Once more, when sickness did come, the Hospital's state of unpreparedness to meet it can best be stated in terms of two of the

Medical Committee's suggestions: one, that in the sick ward "the Boys and Girls be kept separate"; the other, "that the Children in fevers and all infectious distempers have each a separate bed"!

It is hardly remarkable that "Blues" and Governors who have watched the silent improvements of recent years in this and other respects should think it right to claim that the Hospital might have been trusted to continue the process. The pity is that, failing to have their own way, they are now affecting to deny that Christ's Hospital is Christ's Hospital any longer, and that this attitude may tend to produce a cleavage between past and future members of the House. But those who have watched its life most closely since the reform stage set in, while not shutting their eyes to the organic changes which have come over the School, can still subscribe to the famous words of the "Schools Inquiry Commissioners." "Christ's Hospital," they said, "is a thing without a parallel in the country and *sui generis*. It is a grand relic of the mediæval spirit, a monument of the profuse munificence of that spirit and of that constant stream of individual beneficence which is so often found to flow round institutions of that character. It has kept its main features, its traditions, its antique ceremonies, almost unchanged for a period of upwards of three centuries." This witness is true, and, if the past and the future of Christ's Hospital loyalty will join hands, may still be true. At any rate, it is the object of this imperfect story of our House that those who loved it under the old Scheme may be content to continue their lovingkindness to it under the new, and that the "Blue" who enters under modern conditions may remember that he has a goodly heritage. So let both unite with full assurance in the time-honoured prayer:—

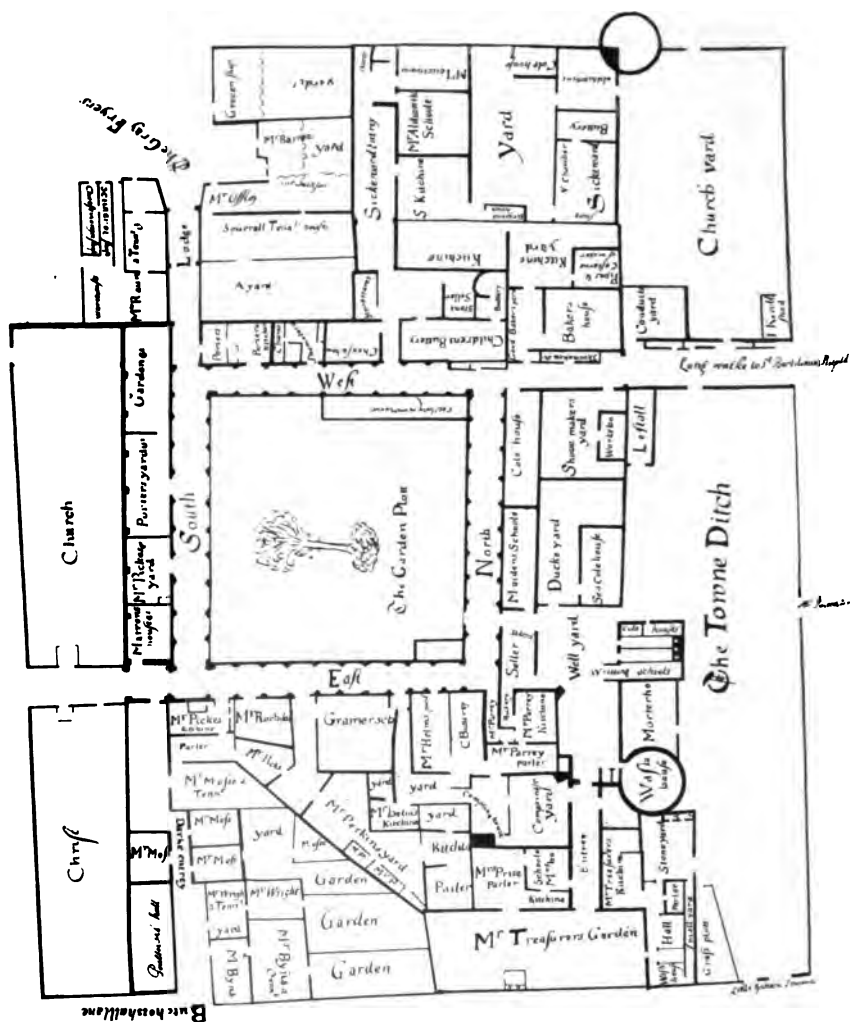
THE RELIGIOUS, ROYAL, AND ANCIENT FOUNDATION
OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL—MAY THOSE PROSPER WHO LOVE
IT, AND MAY GOD INCREASE THEIR NUMBER.

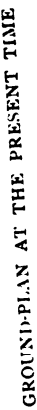
NOTE

THE BUILDINGS BEFORE THE FIRE

IN the month of September, 1901, when this volume was already in type, an ancient plan (or copy of a plan) of the Hospital was discovered in the course of a clearance in the offices of the architect. It deals with ground-floor buildings only, and therefore does not settle the position of dormitories or the use to which Whittington's Library was put, nor does it contradict in any important particular the statements made in chapter iv. Still, its interest is sufficient to warrant a special note.

It shows that an otherwise crowded site had five open spaces of various sizes, viz. :—the Ditch, the Church-yard, the Garden, the "Gray Fryers," and "M^r Treasurer's Garden." The largest are the two on the north, the "Towne Ditch" and the "Church-yard" (cf. p. 62), which, together with the "Long Walke" between them, occupied about a third of the property. There is an entrance for one tenant on the north side of the Ditch, where one would have expected more. On the south of the Ditch and of the Church-yard are two bastions of the City Wall (cf. p. 47), of which the one by the Treasurer's House is used as a "Washhouse." Between the Treasurer's House and the Upper Church there is a congeries of small buildings. At the corner where "Sixes" matron now has her parlour was the "Writeing School" associated with the name of Lady Ramsey. Between the Treasurer's House and the "Compting House" there was a passage, represented to-day by the path the present Treasurer treads from the Counting House to his back entrance. Close to the Counting House are the "Kitchine" and "Parler" of Mr. Parrey, the Clerk, and on the other side of it the "Schoole M^r House," while the southern half of the present Treasurer's Garden is occupied by the gardens and houses of various tenants.





GROUND-PLAN AT THE PRESENT TIME

The "Garden Plott" is ornamented with a tree, which may be taken to imply that something more than grass grew on it, and we are able by means of the plan to get a directory of the cloisters. Entering at the Christ Church Lodge, the first door to the right in the East Cloister is that of Jonathan Pickes, the Writing Master (cf. p. 147). He and "M^r Rochdale," who was allowed the use of a coal-cellar next door in 1654, take up the part now represented by the staircase of Wards I.-III. Then comes the Grammar School, occupying the site of the present Museum and Library, while the corner by "Sixes" lavatory is given to "M^r Helm's parler" (*i.e.* Shadrach Helmes, the Upper Grammar Master).

The ground floor of the North Cloister under Whittington's Library is divided between the "Maidens Schoole" and the "Cole-house," and behind these to the north are the "Well-yard" (cf. p. 49), the "Duck-yard," the "Sea-Cole-house," and the "Shoos-makers-yard."

The West Cloister, being under the Hall, uses its ground floor for the "Children's Buttery" and the "Cheesehouse," and for Porters' and Shoemakers' rooms.

The "Giffs" turns out to be less aristocratic than one hoped. The Matron's House, the only habitation in it, probably included part of the present Lodge, and may have communicated with a Girls' ward on the first floor.

At the west end of the "Giffs" there is another Lodge, leading to "The Gray Fryers." The Hall-Play is occupied, as stated on pages 58, 59, with many and various buildings. For example, the "M^r Offley" mentioned on page 58 turns out to have a good frontage on to "The Gray Fryers." But the most notable thing in this part of the plan is its inclusion of "M^r Aldworths Schoole," the foundation for forty poor boys, which is described on page 102, and which was opened in 1660. The plan must thus be assigned to some year between 1660 and the Great Fire, unless it was drawn up in accordance with the precept from Guildhall mentioned on page 211.

APPENDICES

A. PRESIDENTS OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL

NOTE.—The first four held the title of Surveyor General
and had power over all the Royal Hospitals

1553 Sir George Barnes.	1660 Sir Thomas Atkins.
1556 Sir Martin Bowes.	1661 John Fowke.
1556 Sir Andrew Judd.	1662 Sir John Frederick.
1559 Sir Thomas Offley.	1684 Sir John Moore.
—	1702 Sir Francis Child.
1563 Sir Thomas White.	1712 Sir Richard Hoare.
1582 Sir Thomas Ramsey.	1718 Sir Robert Child.
1590 Sir Wolstan Dixie.	1721 Robert Heysham.
1593 Sir Richard Martin.	1722 Sir Francis Forbes.
1602 Sir Stephen Slaney.	1727 Sir George Merttins.
1608 Sir Humphrey Weld.	Francis Child.
1610 Sir William Craven.	1740 Sir John Barnard.
1618 Sir John Leman.	1758 Sir Robert Ladbroke.
1632 Sir Martin Lumley.	1773 Sir Henry Bankes.
1634 Sir Hugh Hammersley.	1774 Robert Alsop.
1636 Sir Christopher Clitherowe.	1785 Richard Clarke. [Bart.
1641 Sir Richard Gurney.	1798 Sir John William Anderson,
1643 Sir John Cordall.	1813 Sir William Curtis, Bart.
1648 Sir John Gayer.	1829 William Thompson.
1649 Sir John Wollaston.	1854 H. R. H. The Duke of
1658 Sir Thomas Vyner.	Cambridge, K.G., &c.

B. TREASURERS OF CHRIST'S HOSPITAL

1552 Sir Thomas Roe.	1700 Francis Brerewood.
1552 Richard Grafton.	1707 Thomas Lockington.
1557 Richard Buckland.	1716 Sir George Merttins.
1559 Robert Cage.	1727 Richard Cheeke.
1561 John Jackson.	1734 Robert Gay.
1574 Thomas Hall.	1737 Philip Scarth.
1583 William Norton.	1758 Daniel Webb.
1594 Robert Cogan.	1770 Thomas Burfoot.
1614 William Dale.	1785 William Gill.
Richard Heath.	1798 James Palmer.
1624 John Harper.	1824 Thomas Poynder.
1632 John Hawes.	1835 Richard Hotham Pigeon.
1638 John Babington.	1847 William Gilpin.
1652 Richard Glyd.	1867 William Foster White.
1662 William Gibbon.	1873 John Derby Allcroft.
1679 Charles Doyle.	1891 Walter Vaughan Morgan,
1683 Nathaniel Hawes.	Alderman.
1699 Robert Oxwick.	

C. HEAD, OR UPPER GRAMMAR MASTERS

1553 John Robynson.	1753 The Rev. James Townley.
1564 Ralph Waddington.	1760 The Rev. Peter Whalley.
1612 Thomas Hayne.	1776 The Rev. James Boyer.
1630 Thomas Walters.	1799 The Rev. A. W. Trollope,
1652 George Perkins.	D.D.
1662 Shadrach Helmes.	1827 The Rev. John Green-
1678 James Mansfield.	wood, D.D.
1682 The Rev. Samuel Mount-	1836 The Rev. Edward Rice, D.D.
fort.	1853 The Rev. George Andrew
1719 The Rev. Matthew Audley.	Jacob. D.D.
1725 The Rev. Peter Selby.	1868 The Rev. George Charles
1738 The Rev. Seawell Heath-	Bell.
erly.	1876 The Rev. Richard Lee.

D. CLERKS TO THE GOVERNORS

1552 John Watson.	1746 John Yeo.
1562 James Peele.	1749 John Bowden.
1586 Richard Wilson.	1760 Joseph Eyre.
1593 Lawrence Couchman.	1790 Richard Corp.
1597 John Banister.	1817 Thomas Wilby.
1623 Thomas Stephenson.	1836 George Trollope.
1653 William Parvey	1864 Matthias S. S. Dipnall.
1704 George Yeo	1889 Richard Lee Franks.
1711 William Brockett	

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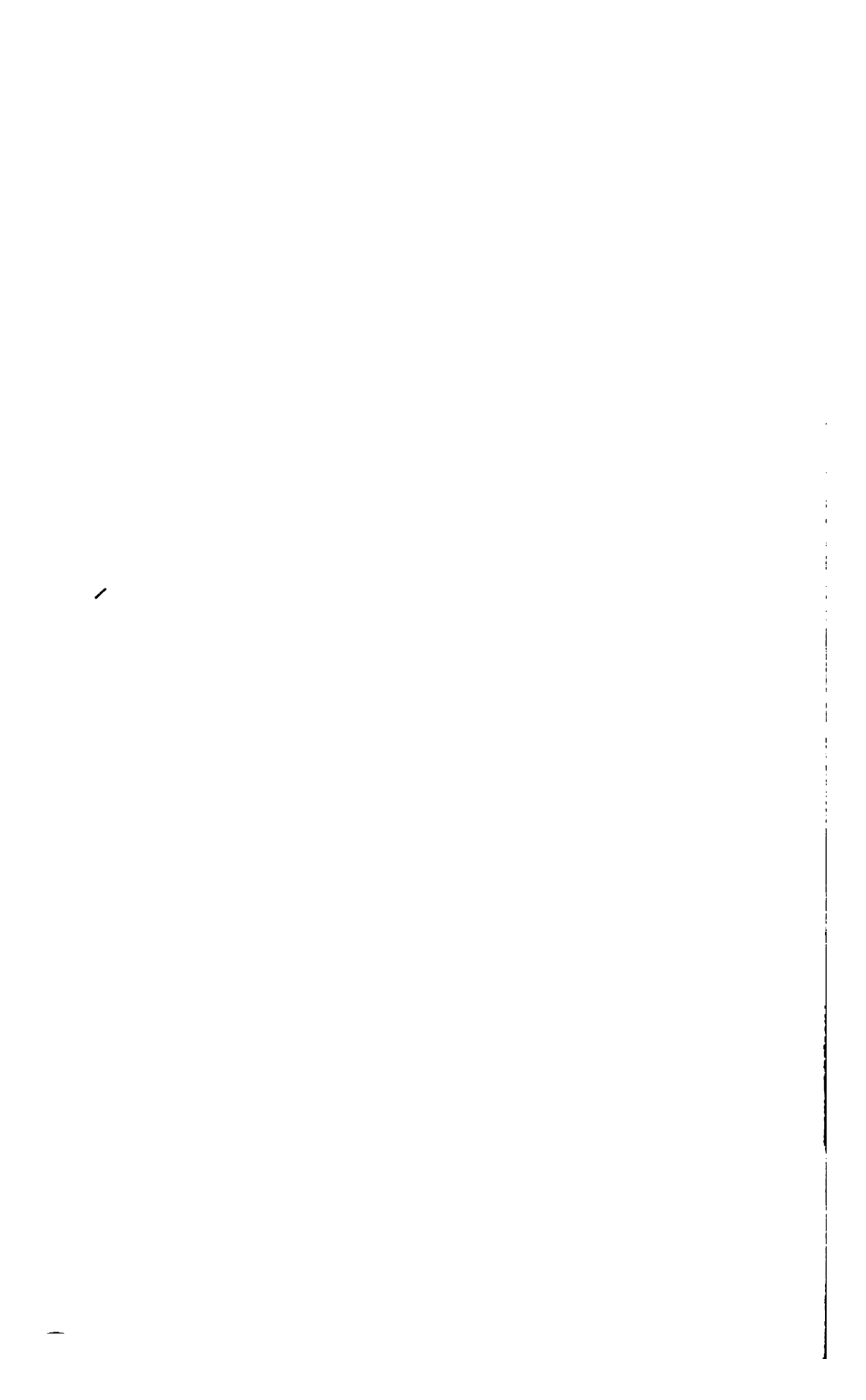
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